

Social Order

**1960 WHITE HOUSE
CONFERENCE ON YOUTH**

Raymond J. Gallagher

April, 1960
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FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

Roger A. Freeman

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RELIGION AND CULTURE

Donald R. Campion

Edward Duff

Roque Ferriols

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THE MARK OF KEYNES

Raymond F. X. Cahill

BOOKS • LETTERS • COMMENT

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. . . just a few things

OUR PUBLIC IMAGE

EDWARD DUFF, S.J.

FATHER CAMPION on another page of this issue warns us that:

Catholicism must ever be aware that failure to preserve the distinction between the inner reality of religion and its cultural encrustation not only violates the true religious spirit but works to defeat religion's efforts in other areas of human interest.

The observation was made during a discussion of the implications of recent self-studies of educational materials used in the instruction of Catholics, Protestants and Jews, sponsored by the American Jewish Committee.

By way of parenthesis, it may be noted that the study of Protestant teaching material, done at Yale Divinity School by Dr. Bernhard E. Olson, revealed a latent (and sometimes overt) anti-Catholic bias. The survey of Catholic catechetical material is the responsibility of Saint Louis University's Department of Education; the provisional report indicted Catholic material for its negativism, its absence of adequate advertence to the universal aspects of religion, its restriction of charitable concern. Dropsie College of Philadelphia was charged with the researching of the Jewish material. Its report disclosed a lack of any advertence to other religions and noted that this was probably because the traditional content is confined to a history of the Jewish people and the ritual of the Holy Days.

Self-scrutiny, especially of our attitudes towards others, is always profitable. Currently American Catholics are publicly involved in this cleansing process and are even getting some assistance from friends invited by Mr. Philip Scharper of Sheed & Ward to set down their separate visions of us in *American Catholics: A Protestant—Jewish View* (1959, pp. 235. \$3.75). The views are those of outsiders who are, of course, at one in balking at the notion of spiritual authority, institutionally incorporated, and at the idea that the means of salvation are mediated through human agents (else, obviously, they would not be non-Catholics).

There is agreement, too, that American Catholics by and large seem too prompt to rely on pressure tactics, over-docile as if waiting direction from their clergy, diffident of entering the dialogue, unconcerned about common action for social goals.

Thus, Professor Stringfellow Barr:

I have labored this point because of a friendly question I would raise: it is whether the American Catholic is as willing as the American Jew or the American Protestant to enter into genuine dialogue with the outsider. . . . I have tried to suggest that the American Catholic seems to shrink from that direct encounter in the case of non-Catholics.

Rabbi Arthur Gilbert asserts:

This self-imposed Catholic isolation, however, has been too long and unnecessarily maintained. Active participation in the give-and-take of civic life and religious dialogue does not have to lead to a watering down of faith, or to assimilation, or to the weakening of distinctive loyalties. . . . I do not charge, therefore, that there are no Catholics in the civic-betterment cause; I merely report that there are not enough and that we are unfortunately not together in sufficient strength on many crucial issues.

Catholic "aloofness"

Dr. Allyn P. Robinson of the National Conference of Christians and Jews reports a case of egregious bad manners to illustrate the "non-Catholic's charge that Catholics are arrogant and aloof":

Some time back in one of our large cities, there was an attempt made to arrange for an off-the-record conference on church-state relations that would involve a carefully selected group of the clergy of all faiths. Fifteen Catholic clergymen agreed to attend. Later, when a well-known and highly respected priest from outside the diocese sought clearance with the Chancery to attend as a resource person, not only was the clearance denied, but evidently all of the priests were asked not to attend, for shortly thereafter each of the priests sent a letter of regrets with no explanation. The conference was canceled, but with disastrous effects as far as the attitudes of the non-Catholics involved were concerned. . . . To be sure, the group arranging such a conference may have been at fault. . . . The unhappy fact was that no explanations were offered.

Professor Robert McAfee Brown of Union Theological Seminary sums up the impression given that "Catholicism is a kind of monolithic structure":

In its crudest form, this image of the Church suggests that the hierarchy has a uniform opinion on absolutely everything and that the laity believe and do

whatever the hierarchy tells them to believe and do about absolutely everything. Every Catholic is a part of this structure, usually called a "power structure," and will in no way deviate from what he is told to do.

As a result, in the words of Professor Stringfellow Barr,

It is simply a brutal fact that American non-Catholics are afraid of the Catholic Church, and its behavior in certain other countries has not reassured them. Fear is a bad basis for good communication, and breeds a kind of cold war.

The most severe strictures on contemporary American Catholics of these friendly critics have been deliberately chosen for purposes of emphasis. As informed individuals they are aware that the obedience of Catholics is restricted to matters of faith and morals, leaving wide areas of political and social concern matters of legitimate controversy. One of our friends is aware that, when the Cardinal of New York was publicly supporting the Vatican's demand for the internationalization of Jerusalem, a Catholic politician, campaigning for mayor of New York, was urging that the Holy City be made the capital of the new State of Israel. Indeed, Professor Brown urges that Catholics "air their differences." He is persuaded that "if Catholics would let their intramural skirmishes come out into the open, the vast-monolithic-structure image would certainly totter if not topple."

Such advice is undoubtedly apposite. Equally apposite is their encouragement of a larger participation in common efforts to achieve the temporal good. It is to be hoped, however, that as such participation becomes increasingly present (as is happening) and the (perhaps dissenting) voice of Catholic opinion is heard, the phenomenon will not be interpreted as a Catholic move

to rock the boat which has hitherto kept an even keel (even if it hasn't made conspicuous progress), nor as a Catholic power play to dominate the common effort for sectarian advantage. There must be a consistency in all criticism. To be damned if you do and damned if you don't is more than a bit bewildering.

Nevertheless, we must come to terms with the fact that currently—so our most sympathetic friends tell us—American Catholics are deemed to be avid of power to be won even by undemocratic means.

How can such an impression be given?

In an outstanding effort of self-examination Notre Dame University sponsored a symposium just published by its own press under the title *Roman Catholicism and the American Way of Life* (edited by Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., pp. 248, \$4.50). One of the participants was Pere Raymond Bruckberger, O.P., the penetrating and sympathetic observer whose *Image of America* was a Book-of-the-Month selection last spring. His indictment of American Catholicism as permeated by "Puritanism" may go far towards explaining the impression of a power apparatus which we give the non-Catholic public. Père Bruckberger first explains:

What is Puritanism? A French Jacobin, Saint-Just, gave the most perfect definition of it that I know: "Either virtue or a reign of terror." This was also the attitude of Josue in the Old Testament: the ideal being less to convert sinners than to exterminate them. Sin must be repressed by all possible means of force and of civil and social legislation. One must force people to be virtuous. Virtue and sin are identified with human law.

Then he pressed his charge:

... one often has the impression that American Catholics are more Puritan than anybody else and that they are very close to setting themselves up as the champions of Puritanism. In short, many non-Catholics in America fear that some day or other American Catholics will adopt Saint-Just's program: "Either virtue or a reign of terror."

It is ironic—and Père Bruckberger finds it so—that American Catholicism be suspected of "Puritanism". The most conspicuous "Puritan" effort to legislate morality the country has known, the noble experiment of Prohibition, was not of Catholic inspiration.

Influence of nativism

Let it be said flatly that the impression of Catholicism as a power apparatus, as an instrument to limit the personal freedoms of others for its own purposes, feeds on an ancient American tradition that found Catholicism "alien" because "foreign" and insisted that acceptance of any spiritual authority is incompatible with personal freedom. The current expression of that nativist tradition speaks of "captive schools," "control by the hierarchy" and "efforts to establish a union of Church and State." As Bishop John Wright remarked recently:

The image is so complete that, when the farmers of Maine go to the polls to vote on a school bus issue, they believe that General Franco is the head of the bus company.

Another factor in the fear of the "power" of American Catholicism results undoubtedly from, to use Will Herberg's language, "the transformation of the United States from a Protestant to a three-religion country." The 1927 edition of André Siegfried's *America Comes of Age* describes Protestantism as "our national religion." The introductory chapter of a 1951

symposium *Protestant Thought in the Twentieth Century* is entitled "America at the End of the Protestant Era."

In any case, whatever the deficiencies of our public posture, they should be the object of corporate self-criticism and—to the extent that they represent what Father Campion terms "the culture-bound nonessential which has become identified with the substance of religious belief and conduct"—promptly cauterized.

Such a process is not easy, given the divinely-assigned hierarchical structure of the Church—as Father Karl Rahner, S.J. points out in his *Free Speech in the Church* (Sheed & Ward, New York, 1960, pp. 112, \$2.75):

But we — both those of us who are in authority and those who are under authority — are perhaps still accustomed here and there to certain patriarchal forms of leadership and obedience which have no essential or lasting connection with the real stuff of Church authority and obedience. When this is so, Church authorities may see even a justifiable expression of frank opinion about Church matters as camouflaged rebellion, or resentment against the Church Hierarchy. Even those not in authority may dislike such free expression, because they are accustomed to the old traditional ways.

Father Rahner notes that "there is . . . very little, if any, recognized way in which public opinion can make itself felt within the Church today, according to modern canon law." And yet, Pope Pius XII told the International Catholic Press Congress in February, 1958:

Finally, I should like to add a word about public opinion within the fold of the Church — about things that can be left open to discussion, of course. Only people who know little or nothing about the Catholic Church will be surprised to hear this. For she, too, is a living body, and there would be something missing

from her life if there were no public opinion within her, a defect for which pastors as well as the faithful would be responsible.

Enlightened public opinion in the Church in this country would have a double function: 1. to correct as far as possible a false public image and, 2. to examine continuously the possibility that American Catholicism is being infected by "an idolatrous civic religion of Americanism."

The last quote is, again, from Mr. Will Herberg who has ceaselessly and mordantly underscored the religious perils of one of the menacing cultural assumptions of our being a "three-religion country." It is the danger that our basic values might be derived from that vague and morally uncosting ideology, the American Way of Life. At the same Notre Dame symposium Mr. Herberg reported a worrisome example:

I recently lectured to the entire student body of a well-known Catholic girls' college. In the course of my remarks, I confronted them — not in such a way as to put them on their guard, of course—with Christopher Dawson's celebrated question: "Are you Americans who happen to be Catholics, or Catholics who happen to be Americans?" Almost with one voice the girls answered, "Americans who happen to be Catholics . . ."

And the interpretation of the incident?

The answer of the girls indicated that they normally thought of themselves as primarily Americans, but of course as Americans of the "Catholic kind," just as some of their friends were Americans of the "Protestant kind," and still others Americans of the "Jewish kind."

This is to make religion instrumental to our zealous conviction that "we belong here." Its perverse parallels are using religion as a status symbol or as a pharmacopoeia for peace of mind. This empty but endemic notion that "religion is a good thing" (whatever its con-

(Continued on page 192)

Catholicism and Ethnocentrism

DONALD R. CAMPION, S.J.

IT IS A COMMONPLACE among sociologists and a fact readily testified to by us all that loyalty to one's team, school, family or circle is often bolstered by the sacrifice of kindly feelings toward outsiders. For the genuine fanatic, indeed, the depth of one's devotion to a cause may come to be measured chiefly in terms of the violent antipathy expressed toward those on the other side of a cultural, racial or ideological divide. This distortion of attitudes toward the outsider can mar the vision of members of a religious group or community. Since such a distortion or prejudice would seem to run counter to the precept of charity proclaimed by the major religious bodies of the West, it must concern us to discover what factors give rise to it. What role has religious education played in promoting stereotypes, sometimes even derogatory images of other religious and ethnic groups? How can we maintain the integrity of our religious beliefs and at the same time encourage

respect and consideration for others? It seems to me that these questions are worth posing and that one might profitably discuss the attitude of Catholicism when confronted with them.

Ethnocentrism, of course, in its root or etymological sense, refers to "the emotional attitude that one's own race, nation or culture is superior to all others." In the present context, however, it would seem that we are in a sense widening the scope of this term to cover any hostility of an ingroup—whatever the basis on which it is founded—toward an outgroup or outgroups of any nature. For purposes of discussion it may be convenient to turn for a working definition of ethnocentrism to the general statement put forth by Daniel J. Levinson at the close of his study of ethnocentric ideology.¹

Ethnocentrism is based on a pervasive and rigid ingroup-outgroup distinction; it involves stereotyped negative imagery and hostile attitudes regarding outgroups, stereotyped positive imagery and submissive attitudes regarding ingroups, and a hierarchical, authoritarian view of group interaction in which ingroups are rightly dominant, outgroups subordinate.

Father Campion is an Associate Editor of America. His article is adapted from a background paper prepared for a discussion on "Religious Education and Intergroup Responsibility" held in connection with the dedication of the American Jewish Committee's Institute of Human Relations.

¹ T. W. Adorno et al., *The Authoritarian Personality*. Harper, New York, 1950, p. 150.

Without making any procrustean effort at fitting definition to facts, I think it more or less of an historical understatement to say that ethnocentrism of one type or other has had a way of appearing and reappearing with the hardy persistence of crabgrass in most religious gardens.

New Testament sources provide us with a graphic account of just such a troubling occurrence in the earliest days of Christianity. In the tenth and eleventh chapters of the *Acts of the Apostles*, we read of a stormy controversy arising in the Christian community. It centered around the propriety of the Apostle Peter's contacts with a member of the outgroup, the gentile centurion Cornelius. Peter stood up to his critics with the straightforward reply: "God has shown me that I should not call any man common or unclean" (10:28). His experience had taught him the high lesson of individual worth in the sight of the Lord: "Now I really understand that God is not a respecter of persons but in every nation he who fears Him and does what is right is acceptable to Him" (10:34-35) and "if God gave them the same grace . . . who was I that I should be able to interfere with God" (11:17).

This tale of St. Peter's troubles is of interest beyond the mere fact of its antiquity. Gordon Allport once ventured a generalization which, I believe, helps to an understanding of this episode and is enlightening for our purposes. In his view the "chief reason why religion becomes the focus of prejudice is that it usually stands for more than faith—it is the pivot of the cul-

tural tradition of a group."² Where hostility hardens against the outsider in the name of religion, "piety is the mask, the inner force is tribal instinct," as William James put it in more vivid terms. This too is the interpretation of a contemporary psychologist, the Dominican priest-scholar Victor White, who contends that "zeal for truth has too often been a cloak for the most evil and revolting of human passions."

If the foregoing interpretations be accepted, the problem is seen to be not one of sentiments and attitudes welling up inevitably from the core of a body of beliefs distinctive of a given religious group or community. What I suggest is that such sentiments and attitudes follow rather on a distortion of the true concept of religion.

Culture-bound nonessentials

Christianity, in common with all other religious traditions, must face up constantly to the task of testing whether its present state of mind and mode of action represent religion pure and undefiled. "If religion is the state of being ultimately concerned," Paul Tillich has said, "then it cannot be the tool of something else. The ultimate cannot be the tool for something non-ultimate." Each of the major traditions cherishes among its most fundamental tenets a set of absolutes which are at odds with the bigotry we associate with the ethnocentric personality. What nourishes prejudice and foment intergroup tensions is the culture-bound non-essential which has become identified with the substance of religious belief and conduct. And this process, as history makes clear, threatens not merely harmonious inter-group relations or the rights of the outgroup. Experience

² *The Nature of Prejudice*. Addison-Wesley, Reading, Mass., 1954, p. 446.

shows that it inevitably works to the destruction of all genuine religious values within the ingroup itself.

The Catholic Church certainly encounters again and again the task of preserving the distinction between the religious and the cultural elements in its corporate personality at any given spatio-temporal juncture. Pius XII, in his encyclical *Evangelii praecones* (1950), affirmed that she "neither scorns nor completely rejects pagan thought." Indeed, he went on to remark, the Church "to some extent consecrated the special customs and ancient traditions of peoples; the pagan feasts themselves, transformed, served to celebrate the memory of the martyrs and the divine mysteries."

Yet openness to new cultural complexes is but one aspect of the posture the Church must strive to maintain. If it is true, as the same Pope remarked to historians gathered in Rome for the Tenth International Congress of Historical Sciences in 1955, that "she is ready . . . to enter into relations with all cultures," by the same token ". . . the Catholic Church is not identified with any one culture; her essence forbids it."

A similar conception of the cultural neutrality of Catholicism has been set forth by the present head of the Church, John XXIII. "As is known," he told the Second World Congress of Negro Writers and Artists on April 1, 1959,

the Church does not identify herself with any culture, not even with the Western culture to which her history is so closely linked. For the mission of the Church is of another order, that of the religious welfare of man . . . [She] is always ready to recognize, to welcome, and indeed to encourage all that does honor to

the intelligence and to the human heart in other parts of the world which are different from this Mediterranean basin that was the providential cradle of Christianity.

Behavior vs. belief

At this point we might well ask what is the relation between behavior and belief as it is expressed in these papal statements. History and contemporary experience, of course, show that the life of the Church is one of tensions. Not the least of these arises from this recurring tendency by which cultural phenomena are mistakenly identified with religious belief. It may be worth noting, however, that where traditional institutions have threatened to disrupt harmonious relations with other groups in the family of mankind, steps can be and are taken (perhaps with highly deliberate speed and seeming reluctance, at times) to remove them from the culture-born visage the Church must present to mankind in a given age. One will readily call to mind, for instance, steps taken by the present Pope and by his predecessor to eliminate from liturgical formulas certain phrases which gave offense to members of the Jewish faith and others.

Finally, it should be noted, in considering the Church's consciousness of her supracultural identity, that Catholicism must ever be aware that failure to preserve the distinction between the inner reality of religion and its cultural encrustation not only violates the true religious spirit but works to defeat religion's efforts in other areas of human interest. This was, in fact, the point made by Pius XII in his address to historians in September, 1955:

The Catholic Church has exerted a powerful and even decisive influence over

the cultural development for the past two thousand years. But she is, firmly convinced that the source of this influence resides in the spiritual element which characterizes her in her religious and moral life, so much so that, if this element were to become weak, her cultural influence—also, for example that which she exerts to the advantage of social order and peace—would have to suffer.

Critics from within and without

Historically, the Church has not been without critics from within and from without. Though a St. Catherine of Siena may not have been versed in factor analysis or the construction of attitude scales, her language in speaking of the faults prevalent in the Church of her day left little reason to doubt her ability to uncover both manifest and latent processes by which the Church, the Bride of Christ, was being prostituted to lesser, or "strictly cultural" if you will, ends.

A classic instance of self-evaluation, of course, was preparation of the *consilium de emendanda ecclesia* at Rome in 1537. This report on the abuses calling for reform in the Church's central curia and elsewhere was produced by a committee of churchmen headed by a layman in the College of Cardinals. It has always interested me to recall that one of the most prominent members of this committee was the Cardinal Carafa who later became Pope Paul IV. On his accession to the papal throne, significantly enough, he was prompt to recall to all his motto, "Judgment must begin in the House of the Lord."

Though the Church has on occasion derived great profit from the comments of outside critics, it has rarely sought such advice of its own accord. A recent exception, at least on an un-

official level, is the volume published this past year by the Catholic firm of Sheed and Ward, *American Catholics: A Protestant-Jewish View*. On the other hand, on more than one occasion in recent decades, leadership in the Church has made it clear that Catholicism stands ready to undergo the scientific scrutiny of scholars in the historical and behavioral sciences.

It was Pope Leo XII who canonized the rule first laid down for historians by Cicero: "History's first rule is to refrain from saying anything false; its second, not to hold back from telling the truth—in the writing of history there is no room for any shadow of favoritism or pretense." This law the Church must recognize as binding not only on those who write but also on those men and institutions who become grist for history's mills. "While the Church fully affirms her divine origin and her supernatural character," Pius XII would repeat, "she knows at the same time that she entered humanity as an historical fact."

The invitation to scientific exploration is extended by Catholicism to researchers in other disciplines as well. In recent years, for instance, Catholic sociologists have undertaken, with ecclesiastical approbation, extensive surveys on the parochial, diocesan and national levels in Europe as well as in North and Latin America. Such efforts inevitably meet with resistance from some who see in them a threat to their interests or, perhaps more disinterestedly, a demeaning of the Church's "spiritual" character. In sum, however, papal teaching or opinion on such studies is expressive principally of concern for the integrity and objectivity of the research and for open-mindedness

to the full dimensions of the Church's cultural and religious functions.

It may not be out of place at this point to refer to the views of two widely known churchmen of this century on the very question of the Catholic attitude toward the scientific vocation and the dedicated pursuit of truth. In speaking of the late Cardinal Mercier, second founder of Louvain University in Belgium and a prominent figure in the neo-thomist revival in philosophical circles, Professor Louis De Raeymaeker remarked:

As a firm believer in his faith, he considered that the best service which researchers could render to religious truth in the realm of science was to surrender themselves to their research with all their powers, without any restrictive fear, without any prejudice, without any thought other than that of bringing their research to a successful conclusion in the domain in which it was conducted. . . . They should have no concern about apologetics, for even a pre-occupation of this order is able to obscure their mind in their work, turn it away from the intended aim and thus make them miss the discovery of a truth.

These sentiments were echoed at a later date by another ecclesiastic, Cardinal Suhard, archbishop of Paris in the years immediately after World War II, an ardent promoter of sociological research and innovation in his see. In a famous pastoral letter entitled *Growth or Decline?* he addressed a special word of counsel to the intellectuals among the members of his congregation:

Your research must bear first on pure truth and disinterested science. You must pursue truth for itself, without however ignoring its applications. You must penetrate more and more deeply the secrets of nature, whose enigma is a constant appeal to seek higher, even to God Himself. You must integrate the conclusions of your several fields of specialization in order to try and form a

cosmic vision of the universe. In this effort you must not involve any consideration of interest, be it even apologetical: you must seek only what is. Your loyalty will be equaled only by your open-mindedness and your effective co-operation with all those, believers and unbelievers, who pursue the truth with all their soul.

The intent of these remarks and of others in a similar vein reflects the abiding image which the Catholic Church should entertain of herself. To manifest any less confidence in the ultimate verdict of history, to shy away from the truth-seeking probe of the social scientist would be to deny the fundamental tenet that God is indeed the Lord of history and to call in question the Creator's intention in endowing man with a mind equipped to scan the universe.



It may be taken for granted, then, that the Church can and should welcome a careful study of ecclesiastical institutions (I use the word in the sociological sense) and of their impact on individual Catholics. Yet the question will naturally arise whether such a study poses any threat to the essentials of the faith which Catholics hold true. That this is not an unreasonable question becomes clear, I believe, when we consider the range of views on the matter of *cultural pluralism*. The fact is that any attempts to defend pluralism of any sort in our American society

may meet with strong opposition from those who would insist on unqualified acceptance of the "melting-pot" approach as the only valid solution of problems arising from the fact of cultural heterogeneity. For my part, a proper approach to a satisfactory social arrangement or orchestration, at least in the present day, is that described by Robin M. Williams, Jr. He places it somewhere between the melting-pot and the mosaic-type theories of society. In his view, this middle way, so far as cultural groups are concerned, is

the orientation known as cultural pluralism or "cultural democracy." Although often a vague and somewhat inconsistent position, cultural pluralism as usually represented envisions an end-situation in which 1. a considerable portion of the cultural distinctiveness of various groups will be retained, but 2. there will be extensive interaction among all groups, and 3. at least a minimal body of *shared* values and traditions will be emphasized.³

Now such an arrangement must also be postulated as a minimal requirement, it would seem, of any religious group seeking to preserve its own identity and, more important, to safeguard the religious beliefs and values which constitute its patrimony.

Effect of religious pluralism

That such a guarantee of religious pluralism is afforded to the religious believer in the United States is, we know, the contention of Will Herberg. His studies of the American scene have led him to stress the new awareness of the third-generation Americans who constitute the bulk of contemporary American society. In their eyes, Herberg maintains, "ethnic separateness cannot and should not be perpetuated."

The ethnic pluralism of earlier generations has lost its meaning for them. In one respect, however, he finds that they tend to resist the melting-pot process. "The newcomer is expected to change many things about him as he becomes American—nationality, language, culture. One thing, however, he is *not* expected to change—and that is his religion."⁴

If the third-generation American is suspicious of a melting pot which would divest him of all individual and subcultural distinctions, the Catholics in company with most other religionists will ever question the presuppositions of those investigating the phenomenon of ethnocentrism in their memberships. If research is embarked upon with the presupposition that religious distinctiveness cannot but be harmful in a democratic society, the religionist will naturally not only question the theological implications of such an assumption; he will also marvel at its compatibility with scientific objectivity. In other words, the Catholic, for one, does not like to be faced with a choice between indifferentism or conformism on the religious plane as the price to be paid for survival in American society. It is against just such a pressure that Father Gustave Weigel asks relief in his Afterword to the essays of Jewish and Protestant writers in the recent volume on American Catholics:

. . . by the very nature of things Catholics do not want to be Catholics according to a Protestant pattern. Someone has pointed out that the real test for American democracy in the matter of Negro integration is not the thorough acceptance of Negroes if they take on the white man's way of being. . . . In the

³ *The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions*. Social Science Research Council, 1947, p. 11.

⁴ *Protestant-Catholic-Jew*. Doubleday, New York, 1955, p. 35.

same way American democracy by its own logic must grant to American Catholics the right to be Catholics; nor can it grant them recognition only in the hypothesis that Catholics become Protestants to some degree or other.⁵

If a study of the impact of a religious education on intergroup and ingroup attitudes among Catholic youngsters may be entered upon without entailing prior commitment to the view that religious indifferentism is an essential characteristic of the unprejudiced personality, then a Catholic can and should welcome it. Such a study, he might expect, would result in more than an improvement of intergroup relations. It could well serve the purpose of purifying the religious life of his co-religionists.

As Bertrand De Jouvenal has observed "The proper foundation of tolerance is not skepticism but the view that there is an intrinsic virtue in honest attempts to apprehend the truth."⁶

In addition to raising this question about the presuppositions to be entertained in any evaluative study of religious institutions and functions, it may not be out of place to recall a few methodological hurdles one may expect to encounter with special frequency in just this sort of research.

One source of possible error is the tendency to rely exclusively on a single viewpoint or theoretical orientation in one's analysis of a problem. An example of what I have in mind is the defect noted by many critics of the well-known study on social discrimination and prejudice, *The Authoritar-*

ian Personality. The authors of that work held with great consistency to a psychoanalytic frame of reference. As a result, in the opinion of critics, they overstressed the importance of childhood environment, as opposed to adult experience, in the formation of prejudiced attitudes.

Selective perception

Another threat to objective and adequate research is posed by a process of selective perception at work in the investigator. By this I mean a tendency to single out those facts or findings that fit my preconceptions, but to overlook or ignore those which might call for the reinterpretation, possibly even the rejection, of my basic thesis. An instance where such a tendency was not sufficiently guarded against has been commented on by William W. Brickman in his review of the second edition of Paul Blanshard's *American Freedom and Catholic Power*:

Mr. Blanshard records again his displeasure at the insertion of 15 religious pictures, among a much larger number of non-religious illustrations, in the first-grade arithmetic in the Seton Series, but he does not feel it necessary to refer to the unusual pictorial equalization of white and Negro children. Similarly, he still does not think it important to point out the fact that the Catholic educators who dissented from the recommendation by the President's Commission on Higher Education in behalf of Federal support for public colleges did support the policy of Negro non-discrimination which was opposed by the non-Catholic, Southern educators. When the author does mention the desegregation activity by Catholics (pp. 298-99), he finds fault with its form as violating democratic practice.⁷

So much, however, for the cavenda; I should now like to suggest, by way of a conclusion to this attempt at an out-

⁵ Stringfellow Barr, et. al., *American Catholics: A Protestant-Jewish View*. Sheed and Ward, New York, 1959, p. 234.

⁶ *Sovereignty*. University of Chicago, 1957, p. 288.

⁷ *School and Society* (March 28, 1959).

line of Catholic attitudes on this topic, some more positive leads or suggestions along substantive rather than methodological lines.

Widen the perspective

It would, it seems to me, be helpful for the sociologist to approach problems of this sort with a special awareness of two complicating factors which can be readily overlooked in such an enquiry. The first is the significance or impact of an individual's situation, as that term was understood by W. I. Thomas and others. In other words, it may be of advantage to widen the perspective of one's search into the genesis of ethnocentrism so as to locate the child's contact or experience with a given textbook within a school or classroom situation. Bossard and other sociologists raise interesting questions about the influence of peer-groups in the school community on learning processes and attitudes.

A second sociological insight has begun to emerge from the as yet exploratory attempts of Fichter and others to categorize specific religious personalities or profiles. Until we know more about what differentiates the model Catholic or the devout Protestant, we may be unable to understand the influence of personal inspiration, consciously or unconsciously aroused, on the child and his or her behavior. What I have in mind is a question about the possibility of a reinforcement, modification or refraction of the formal teaching offered a child in a religious textbook by virtue of his or her concurrent contacts with religious models from the adult world.

Turning now to what may be asked

of the theologians, one might call for a re-examination of the doctrinal content of the major religious traditions with an eye to uncovering fully the universalistic implications in these beliefs. I think here, for example, of such conceptions as that of the common sonship of man founded in the fact of creation, or of mankind's community in virtue of a primal promise of salvation. The significance of such an effort has not escaped Allport:

Religion is a large factor in most people's philosophy of life. We have seen that it may be of an ethnocentric order, aiding and abetting a life style marked by prejudice and exclusiveness. Or it may be of a universalistic order, vitally distilling ideals of brotherhood into thought and conduct. Thus we cannot speak sensibly of the relation between religion and prejudice without specifying the sort of religion we mean and the role it plays in the personal life.⁸

A second task to which theologians might profitably address themselves would be that of exploring the recent findings of their fellow scholars in the field of biblical studies. One thinks here of the exciting possibilities suggested by the earliest reports from those who have had contact with the literary and archeological finds in the region of the Dead Sea and other areas of the Near East. My personal conviction, from a theological viewpoint, is that this research cannot fail to improve understanding of their common ground on the part of the twin heritors of the Judeo-Christian tradition.

A third major contribution to understanding could well be looked for if theologians, especially Catholics, would undertake to answer the widely felt need for an elaborated theology of tol-

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 456.

erance.⁹ Such a project would be designed to explore, in the light of Catholic dogmas, the area beyond what Father John Courtney Murray has called the American "presumption in favor of freedom." This presumption, he maintains,

does not rest on doctrinaire grounds. Its basis was not the philosophic rationalism that called itself the Enlightenment, but only a political pragmatism more enlightened than Enlightenment ever was, because it looked to the light of experience to illuminate the prudential norms necessary to guide it in handling a concrete social reality that is vastly complicated.

Point of departure

Now Father Murray's theses, or something like, must, in my opinion, be adopted as a point of departure if we are ever to be successful in maintaining a viable religious pluralism. But the Catholic may be able to discover within his own dogmatic resources an even more satisfactory foundation for this presumption.

To shed some light on the last point I raised in the preceding paragraph, I shall beg indulgence to cite at length from two well-known Catholic philosophers. The first is Jacques Maritain, writing in the September 27, 1957 issue of *Commonweal*:

... it is not unusual to meet people who think that *not to believe in any truth, or not to adhere firmly to any assertion as unshakably true in itself* is a primary condition required of democratic citizens in order to be tolerant of one another and to live in peace with one another.

It is nonsense to regard fanaticism as a fruit of religion. Fanaticism is a natural tendency rooted in our basic

egotism and will to power. It seizes upon any noble feeling to live on it.

There is a real and genuine tolerance only when a man is firmly and absolutely convinced of a truth, or of what he holds to be a truth, and when he at the same time recognizes the right of those who deny this truth to exist, and to contradict him, and to speak their own mind, not because they are free from truth but because they seek truth in their own way, and because he respects in them human nature and human dignity...

The sentiments of Maritain's fellow French philosopher, Etienne Gilson, run along the same lines:

There is no necessary connection between philosophical dogmatism and political tyranny, no more than there is between philosophical skepticism and political liberty. . . . Like any other moral vice, intolerance is a sin against the very nature of reason and one of the worse among the countless forms of stupidity. But precisely because intellectual light is his only weapon, a true philosopher cannot afford to be a skeptic with regard to the fundamental principles of human life.¹⁰



Despite the serenity with which Maritain and Gilson have stated their conviction that man can hold absolutes in theology and yet live at peace with himself and others in a pluralist society, one needs little knowledge of, and less reflection on, religious history in America to realize that the actual working out of such a way of life commonly poses a formidable array of problems. In this connection I should like to quote from yet another lay Catholic educator who writes of the challenge such a posture imposes on an intellectual:

⁹ For example Giacomo Cardinal Lercaro's "Religious Tolerance in Catholic Tradition," *Catholic Mind*, 58 (January-February 1960), pp. 12-25.

¹⁰ *Dogmatism and Intolerance*, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, N. J., 1952, p. 7.

It is apparent that the intellectual leader in a pluralist society needs something more than a grudging tolerance of persons whose convictions on the highest matters, religious matters, are very different from his own. Ideally, he should have some knowledge of what they think and a generous and empathic appreciation of their patterns of conviction. Each community of conviction must find its way on its own terms to a generous understanding of the others. The easy way . . . is indifferentism and is definitely out of bounds for the convinced and loyal Catholic.¹¹



The virtues Professor Donahue and others would require of the intellectual in a pluralist society are, it seems to me, precisely those which should be sown, at least in germ, in the youngsters on their exposure to religious education within any tradition.

These virtues, I submit, can coexist with his religious beliefs and permit of his full participation in the society into which he was born. Indeed, it may be said that some measure of these virtues is to be desired for the fullness of genuine religion—at least as Catholicism conceives of it—under almost any circumstances. Whatever may be the fanaticism with which some Catholics have sought to lead or impel others into the Church at times, it is an unalterable theological tenet that allegiance to the Church has no meaning unless it is

freely given and that the individual's choice must be respected. Similarly, within the household of the faith, the Catholic should strive for an active intellectual interest in both the new and the old ideas of others. For him there should be none of the intellectual fanaticism which we designate as fundamentalism. As one contemporary biblical scholar observes:

Can we define fundamentalism? Essentially, it consists of a conscious and deliberate "literal-mindedness" in accepting the affirmation of biblical writers without regard to the idiom, the context, or the literary form through which they are expressed. Fundamentalism is, in fact, a misguided determination to cling to a superficial meaning of the Bible at all costs—even the cost of real understanding. A form of anti-intellectualism, it is quite out of harmony with that spirit of religious inquiry (*fides quaerens intellectum*) which the Catholic Church has always sought to encourage in the faithful, and which is the ideal and the guiding principle of Catholic theology.¹²

Purpose of religious education

Indeed, the religious man who possesses the mature outlook implied in the preceding quotation would, in my opinion, also manifest little susceptibility to the fanaticism which goes under the name of religious ethnocentrism.

One final suggestion may properly be listed under the heading of points for "action." It is addressed directly to religious educators, but may have some interest for the sociologist or theologian. What, one may ask, does the educator judge to be the ultimate goal of religious education? What conception does he have of its finished product—the religiously educated man or woman? Such

¹¹Charles J. Donahue, "Freedom on the Campus," *America*, 99 (April 27, 1957), p. 108.

¹²David M. Stanley, S.J. "The Conception of Our Gospels as Salvation-history," *Theological Studies* (December, 1959), p. 564-5.

queries will readily be seen to have significance in the present discussion if we recall certain findings on the relation between prejudice and the nature of one's religious adherence and practice.

Bettelheim and Janowitz, for instance, in their study of ethnic attitudes among veterans, found that "veterans who had stable religious convictions tended to be more tolerant." (Stability, in this context, related directly to one's internalization of a church's central teaching or moral precepts.) A similar observation was reported in a study on two groups of laymen—Catholic and Protestant—conducted by students of Allport and reported on in his book:

... in both studies the same result occurred: those who were considered the most devout, more personally absorbed in their religion, were far less prejudiced than the others. The institutional type of attachment, external and political in nature, turns out to be associated with prejudice.¹³

A modest but fascinating bit of research directed by Professor Theo M. Shea of Saint Louis University confirms the Allport conclusions: it would also seem, incidentally, to impugn the findings of *The Authoritarian Personality* study.¹⁴ Using the E scale of Adorno *et al* as the research instrument, two of Professor Shea's graduate students sought to discover what correlation exists between ethnocentric attitudes and the intensity of religious practice within a select group of students in a Catholic university. The group studied were divided into daily

communicants (an indication of internal religious attachment) and non-daily communicants (an indication of institutional attachment). The group of daily communicants surveyed comprised 54 seminarians, 63 nuns, 25 laymen and 22 laywomen. The non-daily Communion group was composed of 31 laywomen and 132 laymen. The following conclusions emerged from the survey:

1. There is a statistically significant difference between the ethnocentrism of daily communicants and non-daily communicants.

2. The total group tested is *non-ethnocentric* to a marked degree.

3. The daily communicant group appears to be more *non-ethnocentric* than the non-daily communicant group.

4. *Laymen*, as a group, tend to be more *ethnocentric* than either of the three groups individually, or taken as a total, inasmuch as the preponderance of their scores are in the low (mean) range.

5. When the total group of Religious is compared to the total lay group, the group of Religious evidences considerably less ethnocentrism than the lay group.

Summary

The point of these references and of my suggestion that they be pondered by religious educators is that a religious education program, no matter what the nature of the textbook it employs, must be directed at the internalization of beliefs and norms. In that process genuine religion will be fostered and, it may be hoped, an effective check will be instilled against that "tribal instinct" which incites to religious ethnocentrism.

¹³*Op. cit.*, p. 452.

¹⁴See Gregory Shinert and Charles Ford (under the direction of Theo M. Shea) "The Relation of Ethnocentric Attitudes to the Intensity of Religious Practice," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 32 (December, 1958), pp. 157-162.

RELIGION and CULTURE:

ROQUE FERRIOLS, S.J.

A CONFERENCE OF EXPERTS on the great religions of the world met in Manila last January 2-9. The theme of their conference was: "The Present Impact of the Great Religions of the World upon the Lives of the People in the Orient and Occident." It was held under the joint sponsorship of UNESCO and Pax Romana as part of a major project of UNESCO on "Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values." UNESCO realized that there can be no mutual appreciation of cultures if the religious factor is overlooked; at the same time, its officials felt that, as an intergovernmental organization, it could not convoke a meeting of religious experts without the help of a non-government organization; they therefore invited Pax Romana, a Catholic organization of university students and intellectuals, to co-sponsor the conference. They chose a Catholic organization because, as the Director General of UNESCO, Dr. Luther Evans, said to the World Congress of Pax Romana, at Vienna in 1958:

Father Ferriols is Professor of Philosophy at Berchmans College, Cebu City, Republic of the Philippines.

For two thousand years the Catholic world has experienced the confrontation of different cultures in the same ideal, or rather, I should say, it has experienced the communion of different cultures in a faith which at once respects, animates and transcends them.

In opening the conference, Chairman Olivier Lacombe adverted to the far-reaching changes which advances in industry and technology have worked on the individual, social, and cultural life of man. The object of the sessions, he said, was to assess the influence of religion on the lives of people in an increasingly industrialized and technological world. As he put it, the conference situated itself at the point where man's spiritual and temporal interests meet.

While conference members were selected not only as experts in religion but also as believers, Professor Lacombe indicated that speakers would not address themselves to points of doctrine nor to common denominators of belief. The purpose was rather to hear representatives of the various religions with a view to achieving mutual understanding and appreciation. (The phrase "living and loving dialogue" was much used at the conference.)

Report on the UNESCO-Pax Romana Conference

The conference met twice a day. The morning sessions were open to the public; closed sessions were held in the afternoon. Highlights of the talks are summarized in the following paragraphs, though no claim is made that the exact words of each speaker are reproduced.

Professor S. B. Das Gupta on Hinduism: Industrialization is gradually destroying old Hindu family and social patterns and giving rise to new ones. The result has been the purification of Hinduism from mythological elements and routine rituals together with a return to its true and pure spirit. Hinduism is moving away from the unbalanced ascetic teaching which considers the world an illusion and is returning to the Upanishadic teaching that the Ultimate Reality is both transcendent and immanent. As transcendent, it is indefinite and undifferentiated; as immanent, it permeates the world. The world and the creatures in it partially manifest and are identical with the Transcendence without in any way destroying or limiting it. This view of the world as real by virtue of its identity with the Absolute enables the Hin-

du to accept technology and science without finding them obstacles to union with Ultimate Reality. It leads also to the conviction that the world is not ruled by blind but by moral forces. This conviction is the foundation of non-violence, a spiritual tactic that achieves more lasting results than violence. Seeing that the Ultimate Reality not only transcends the world but is also identical with it, the ascetic must now descend from contemplation—without abandoning it—and engage in social service. Hindu tolerance is basically a willingness to accept all great men as avatars of the Transcendent Truth.

Dr. Mahmud Hussein on Islam: The scientific advance of the West has worked changes in practically all levels of Muslim life from politics to dress and etiquette.¹ The flexibility of Islam has enabled it to accept these changes and to meet the threat of secularism without compromise on fundamentals. Islam teaches that man is above the ani-

¹ As if to show that the age of technology has not dimmed the interior spirit of Islam, Dr. Osman Yahia read a metaphysical and poetic paper on Islamic mysticism along the lines of the Sufist school.

mals because he is free. The Koran urges man to use his reason to understand and control the universe. The Muslim believes in the unity of all men because God made them all. Distinctions should not be based on race, color, or country, but only on good deeds.

Dr. Hajime Nakamura on Mahayana Buddhism: Buddhism is rational; it teaches that nothing must be accepted unless found in reason and the scriptures. Rationality, however, does not mean exclusivism; contradictory doctrines are simultaneously acceptable because they are only partial expressions of the ultimate, ineffable truth. Only the enlightened ones, the buddhas, possess this truth. Buddhist tolerance looks on all religions as paths to the enlightenment. The Buddhist Void is neither nothingness nor annihilation but that which stands between affirmation and negation; it can, therefore, accept both



affirmation and negation; it is all-inclusiveness, love. The Void is the basis for compassion, respect for life, peace. Love is the realization that the individual is one with the others and is established through coexistence with them. Thus, he who loves sees himself, the man to whom he does good, and the good thing he does as all one in the Void. It is hoped that Buddhist teachings on compassion and peace may help to solve the great problems of the contemporary world.

Dr. Minoru Shibata on Shintoism: Shintoism is not to be identified with exaggerated and militaristic national-

ism; this was an interpretation forced on it by certain militarists in the 1930s and during the war. It is basically ritual worship of those gods that are the ancestors of the individual family, the village, the nation. In daily living, Shinto means simplicity, plainness, graceful emotion, closeness to nature. Shinto is a national religion but it is tolerant of other religions: most Shintoists are also Buddhists and Confucianists. Shinto has an eclectic tendency. It is hoped that in the future it will keep closer contact with other religions, especially with Christianity.

Dr. Simon Greenberg on Judaism: The Jewish tradition presents theological principles together with a pattern of daily behavior and a ritual. Industrialization and patterns of democratic living make it difficult for the Jew to preserve his tradition in all its details. Different groups have reacted differently to this difficulty. Some have considered ethical behavior detachable from theological principles; today, however, there is a growing conviction that ethical goals divorced from theological principles and patterns of daily behavior become merely ethereal abstractions. In general Judaism has succeeded in adapting itself to the changing world without losing any of its essential beliefs and rituals. Following are some Judaic principles that help modern Jews face the modern world: All men are equal because they all come from one man. Each man is responsible for his acts. Any one human being has it in his power to vindicate the creation of the whole universe. To save or destroy one human life is to save or destroy the universe. Man must not remain passive in the face of evil; he must fight for justice and peace.

Dr. Henrik Kraemer on Protestantism: Changes in the modern world challenge all great religions to show their permanent validity; the challenge to Christianity is a special one because the modern world took shape, for the most part, in antagonism to Christianity. Because of its emphasis on personal decision and personal sincere insight into Christian truth, there is a tendency to disunity in Protestantism. The World Council of Churches strives for unity. Though it is not co-terminus with Protestantism, the WCC is still the most clear-cut embodiment of "non-Roman" Christianity in its confrontation with the modern world. Three key words express the aims of the WCC. Unity: the WCC strives towards that unity of authoritative truth implied in the revelation made through Jesus Christ. Mission and service (*diakonia*): the Christian message must be conveyed to the whole world and Christians must minister to the needs and problems of all men; mission and service are felt as implied in the person of Jesus Christ. Renewal: the churches must submit themselves to self-criticism in the light of norms found in the life, work, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ and be eager to invent new and truer ways of manifesting the church's nature and calling in and for the world.

Transcendence vs. immanence

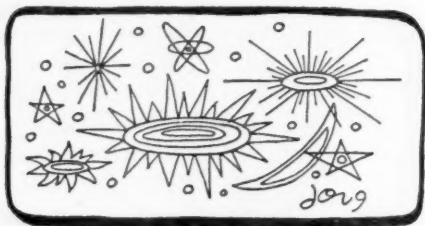
Dr. Nikos Louvaris on Greek Orthodox Christianity: (An accident kept Dr. Louvaris from coming to the conference but his paper was read.) The history of Greek Orthodoxy shows a tension between the church of the monks and the church in the world. The monks emphasized God's transcen-

dence and developed a mystical way of life. The church in the world emphasized God's immanence, the Incarnation, the divinization of man; accordingly, it preserved Christian culture and education even during the oppression of the Turkish rule. The tension between monastery and world resulted in mutual enrichment, *e.g.* monks engaged in works of charity and those at Mount Athos played an important role in the fight for national freedom. Modern Greek Orthodoxy has a vigorous program of education and social service; it strives to integrate transcendence and immanence and to transform the world according to the spirit of Christ.



Father Horacio de la Costa, S.J., on Catholicism in the West: Though the Catholic Church played the leading role in the formation of Europe, a large segment of the Western peoples has rejected it. Still, Catholicism has survived not merely as a relic but as a living and growing thing. Catholicism offers the elements of a solution to the three-fold crisis of modern Western man. The crisis of understanding: the very progress of science has made it difficult for Western man to view the universe as one intelligible whole. Catholicism offers a total vision of reality as pervious to reason and divinely created, ruled, and ordered; this vision is an open framework, capable of synthesizing all that modern science has discovered. The crisis of organization: Western man is looking for a principle

of unity in the order of society. Catholicism presents a program of social order stressing the sacredness of the human person and founded on the laws of human nature itself. The crisis of the spirit: in spite of—or, perhaps, because of—the achievements of the West, a deep sense of frustration runs through much of contemporary Western thought. Catholicism offers, quite simply, the revelation of God in the Person of Jesus Christ.



Professor Masao Matsumoto on Catholicism in the East: Catholicism found highly developed cultures in the East. This has brought a growing realization of the urgent need to distinguish between Christianity and Christian civilization. Christianity is the whole supernatural revelation perfected in Jesus Christ. Christian civilization is something built by those who have accepted the revelation. Christian civilization strives for perfection, but it is still imperfect; e. g., medieval Christian civilization has instances of unreasonable ways of thinking. Christian civilization contains many elements that are contingent to Christianity; e. g., the early Church's use of Neoplatonic terminology to express dogma cannot be interpreted as an approval of Neoplatonism as a theoretical system. Neoplatonic thought as such remains contingent to Christianity.

Obviously, this oversimplified report

does not do justice to the nuanced complexity of the papers read. We have only tried to give the general intellectual feel of the conference.

The "conflict"

The conference cast light on the "conflict" between science and religion. In the great religions—excepting, perhaps, Shintoism—there is a tension between the approach to God as transcendent and the approach to Him as immanent. Among the adherents to a religion there are always persons who over-emphasize transcendence. These tend to consider science evil or, at best, impertinent. But those who firmly grasp both ends of the tension see science as an occasion for a more profound contemplation of God as immanent.

A similar ambivalence can be observed in the relationship between the great religions and the new technological society. Modern life tends to fix man's interests exclusively on the material world. Social patterns which have been associated for centuries with religion are disintegrating; hence the attitude that looks on religion as a mere survival from a backward age. On the other hand, this very disruption of old institutions has occasioned a deeper and more intense religious life. The great religions have been forced to re-examine their origins, to distinguish between contingent and essential elements, to restore forgotten facets of their respective traditions. The result has been a new consciousness of religion in its purity and a new emphasis on the duty of religion to culture, to education and to social service. Perhaps one of the fruits of this new emphasis was this "living and loving dialogue" between men who disagree.

White House Conference on Children and Youth

RAYMOND J. GALLAGHER

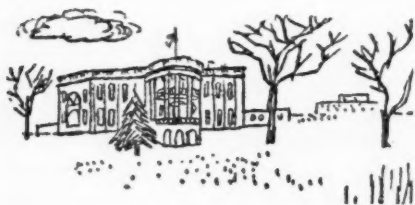
THE Golden Anniversary White House Conference—a golden opportunity for America. The sixth White House Conference on Children and Youth, coming just 50 years after the initial meeting in the East Room of the White House, is scheduled for March 27-April 2, 1960 and proposes to use all of the large meeting rooms and auditoria in Washington which can be reserved. Seven thousand invitations have been sent out to a true sampling of the nation's citizenry. This compares with some 200 handwritten invitations personally addressed by President Theodore Roosevelt in convening the first White House Conference. In this Conference, as in 1909, a cross-section of the people of America have been invited to contribute their best thinking to the task of assessing the present circumstances of our children and youth. When one considers the phenomenal changes that face the children of this generation, this Golden Anniversary White House Conference takes on the same urgency that gave rise originally to this worthwhile social development that addresses itself each decade to our greatest national asset, our children.

This Conference has been in the making for more than 18 months. Almost from the beginning genuine concern was expressed by leaders in the fields of medicine, education and social service for the seeming absence of substantial value systems and standards of behavior. Even though the positive accomplishments of the children of this decade were given true evaluation, there was yet an underlying awareness that an essential ingredient seemed to be missing. Perhaps it was the lack of dedication in so many of our youth that caused the educator to wonder how his students would rise to the challenges of the scientific age. It may well have been the selfishness and narrowness of life that was of greatest concern to the social service practitioner. The medical man, whose widespread interest in the whole person being treated as a patient extends to personal adjustment, individual morality and over-all health, was more keenly aware than most of us that

Monsignor Gallagher, M.S.S.W., of Cleveland, is Secretary of the National Catholic Committee for the 1960 White House Conference.

things were not good with the typical American youth. He, too, felt that the inner drive, the inspirational component which turned men into leaders was clearly lacking in a good many of our young people.

The clergy, of course, were very happy to see this kind of an assessment coming from other fields. It has been an old story with them. The dramatic awakening of so many others to the absence of perfect moral qualities in children and youth is a goal toward which the clergy of America has been striving for these many years. It is truly a golden opportunity which presents itself to the widest group of responsible American adults, namely, that of preparing the youth of America for an uncharted tomorrow by reaffirming the basic values of life upon which all men in every era have built.



In November of 1958 President Eisenhower named a National Committee of 92 members and appointed as its Chairman, Mrs. Rollin Brown of Los Angeles, California. The Committee represents an excellent cross-section of the geography as well as the personnel of our nation. One would not know where to start to list the outstanding people since the list would go on and on until it had embraced the whole Committee. It is appropriate to say that the personnel of this group represents lay and pro-

fessional, teacher and pupil, clergyman and church-member. One pleasant relationship is enjoyed by this Conference with its prototype in that Alice Longworth, the daughter of President Theodore Roosevelt, is a member of this year's National Committee. The Committee is honored by the presence of John Artichocker, a Sioux Indian youth. His marked reserve and quiet dignity does credit to his race; the courage and faith which he typifies is having its effect on other youth included in this National Committee. The Committee is entertained now and then by Danny Kaye who does not let his sharp wit and outstanding sense of humor interfere with the contribution he is making to the Conference through his instinct for children and his keen sensitivity to their needs.

This Golden Anniversary Conference is being built on three major citizen groups, the Federal Interdepartmental Committee, the Council of National Organizations and the Council of State Youth Committees. The Federal Interdepartmental Committee represents personnel from the federal government, from all of its departments directly and indirectly concerned with the welfare of children. This group will name about 200 delegates to the actual meeting.

The Council of National Organizations is a coordinating body set up to give leadership to national organizations desirous of participating in this Conference. Any national organization which has a bona fide interest in children and youth is eligible to be a member of this group. Over 500 such organizations availed themselves of the opportunity to be listed as officially desirous of sending delegates to the deliberations of the Golden Anniversary

White House Conference on Children and Youth. These are professional groups, patriotic associations, parental units, labor, youth groups, to name only a few. This group will send 1,900 delegates to the Washington Conference.

The Council of State Youth Committees represents those citizen groups from the individual states and territories of the United States. The Governor in each of the states appointed a White House Committee for the purpose of developing state activity. One of the responsibilities of this appointed group was to name the delegates who would attend as representatives of the states. This group will comprise about 3,600 delegates.

Theme Assemblies

The actual program will be divided into meetings of four types. The Conference will open and close with a Plenary Session. It is hoped that the President of the United States will address the total convocation scheduled for Sunday evening, March 27th, in the Field House of the University of Maryland. The final Plenary Session will be held on Friday afternoon in the National Armory in Washington. In between these two meetings the delegates will be kept quite busy attending the following type meetings: Theme Assembly is a title given to five concurrent meetings which will be held the first thing in the morning on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday. In each of these meetings a speaker of major importance will address himself to the same general topic as it relates to the Values and Ideals of our children and youth. Each of these Theme Assemblies will then break down into a Forum meeting. The 1,500 people attending a

Theme Assembly will divide into four or five Forums. Here again, the delegates will be addressed by an individual or perhaps a panel of experts who will discuss a further delineation of the topic expressed at the initial meeting of that morning.

Work Groups will constitute the entire afternoon program. These will be groups of 25 to 30 people drawn from the Forums mentioned above who will discuss more specific problems as they relate to the general theme of the day. This Work Group will have a constant group of personnel. Being together for three days discussing a problem, it is felt that they will be in a reasonable position to make some resolutions and recommendations to the entire Conference.

The last two days of the week will be spent in arriving at a synthesis of the thinking of the entire Conference. The material resolved by the Work Groups will be correlated on the Forum meeting level and the final conclusions of each Forum will be presented to the entire Conference at the final Plenary Session. This will represent the reporting of the Conference.



Significant minority opinions which show themselves on the Forum level will be reported along with majority opinions at the final Plenary Session. It is hoped that in this way a thorough composite of the thinking of our nation with regard to children and youth will be obtained without slighting any major differences.

In 1957 the Administrative Board of the Catholic Bishops of the United States expressed itself as being desirous of making a real contribution to the nation's thinking in the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth. Because of the preoccupation of the Church with health, education and welfare matters pertaining to children and youth, the Bishops felt that a reflection of Catholic principles, would be interesting and informative to the citizenry of the United States generally. To achieve the development of this participation, the Bishops named a Coordinator of Catholic participation.



The plan of participation which was developed involved the establishing of diocesan units around the nucleus of the Superintendent of Schools, the Director of Charities, the Catholic Youth Director and the Director of Hospitals. It involved convening a group of knowledgeable laymen to promote local activity in connection with the Conference. Great interest was expressed in the hope that leadership in community activities might result from the alerting of Catholic people on a diocesan basis. This group was encouraged to relate themselves to the State Youth Committee, officially appointed by the Governor and with other church related and non-sectarian programs for children and

youth in the hope that widespread grass root concern could be expressed. The theme of Catholic participation was that of cooperating with other citizen groups to recruit as wide a sampling of our citizenry as possible to address themselves to the local form of challenges that were being placed before our children and youth. This local character of participation, it was felt, would offer a truer expression of the concern of the nation than reports presented by a few specialists.

Diocesan Youth commissions

One additional advantage was pointed out by the Coordinator of Catholic participation. It was felt that the experience enjoyed in preparing for the 1960 White House Conference might well be the proving grounds for the effectiveness of a Diocesan Youth Commission comprised of the personnel enumerated above. It was felt that there are so many areas of service in which the Church might be active with regard to children and youth that a Diocesan Youth Commission might well provide the machinery for avoiding duplication and covering the gaps of unmet needs. Such an official arm of the Bishop might plan a long range program rather than concern itself with piecemeal solutions to immediate problems. More than 100 dioceses have cooperated in promoting activity in their local communities. Such an alerting of the Catholic people of the United States can have only desirable effects. It will serve to make them much more conscious of the growing difficulties confronting our children and youth and of the need to cooperate with other community organizations and programs in providing a solid protective front.

SOCIAL ORDER

Earlier in this article reference was made to the golden opportunity presented to America to equip its children and youth with solid principles and lasting values. Long before the President's Committee met, the Subcommittee on Theme was appointed. The material gathered by this subcommittee showed in a remarkable manner a single question, which occupied the minds of people from coast to coast — "What can we do about the attitudes of our youth?" The first concern was not how we shall clothe, feed, educate, medicate and recreate our children. The primary concern was about their attitudes toward the spiritual and moral concepts, religious convictions and value systems. While knowledgeable people are aware that not all American youth are in a sad state, there was still substantial concern about the attitudinal atmosphere in which most of our children lived and breathed. Here America was concerned about the shallowness of our children's interest in things that pertain to the spiritual. Parents were deeply concerned because their children, who with themselves belonged to the most respectable organizations and institutions, were still yielding to unacceptable behavior standards when the pressure of social contact with other children was apparent. Families were shocked at the absence of a sense of values and goals in their children and this after parents believed that they had done all that was required to give their youngsters the kind of direction that would lead them to a successful eternity. American parents were distraught with the indifference of many adults and youth who thought of traditional patriotic ideals and values in terms of travesties and caricatures rather than the honored con-

cepts that they are meant to be. America is getting to the heart of the problem when its representatives on the Committee consider the tendency towards delinquency or disobedience in terms of the absence of ideals, values and religious convictions.

Pendulum swings

The pendulum is swinging again. If as a nation we have experienced a period when prosperity, self-sufficiency and victory lulled us into thoughtlessness about these things, we are now confronted with the plain, unvarnished truth that all is not well with America. It should not be implied that in a state of fright our nation is now scurrying toward these havens. What is meant is that Americans are looking for some balance in their quest for material goods and their loyalty to spiritual and religious values. It is correct at least to say that there are symptoms which indicate this. In our moments of thoughtfulness, it is clear that all of us would say that our best possibilities as individuals and as a nation lay in this middle path. There is great energy and initiative in seeking the material advantages which our wealth and know-how produce. This pursuit, however, must always be put in the perspective of eternity where man recognizes that his primary sources of value is found not in the caricature of a highly independent and spiritually indifferent being but rather in the fact that he resembles Almighty God in whose image and likeness he was created. These are tremendous realizations. The question is what are we going to do with them. If ever a golden opportunity was provided to us, it is provided in this Golden Anniversary White House Conference.

"More dollars for education

"D DAY" FOR FEDERAL

LAST MONTH the campaign for federal school aid celebrated an anniversary that is rare among nation-wide movements: just 90 years have passed since the first bill authorizing federal funds for the common schools was introduced in Congress on February 25, 1870. Close to a thousand bills have since been submitted, there have been weeks of committee hearings, thousands of pages of testimony, lengthy and acrid floor debates. But the bills that became laws concern only peripheral or minor aspects of school operations.

On the whole, the battle for federal aid to education has been one of the most bitter and emotion-charged, most ardently fought-over and most frustrated drives on the national scene. The House passed a general school aid bill in 1872, the Senate went through the motions no fewer than seven times: in 1880, 1884, 1886, 1888, 1948, 1949, and again on February 4, 1960. Although none of those bills were enacted, the protagonists of federal aid are neither discouraged nor deterred by their repeated defeats. They have been predicting final victory each year for a long time and appear more certain

than ever of their eventual triumph. Many expect it confidently in 1960.

It is certain that the House is not ready to accept the Senate-passed \$900 million a year bill for teachers' salaries and construction aid. It may, however, be willing to approve a program it has repeatedly rejected in recent years: about \$300 million in annual school building grants. If it does and if the Senate agrees (which it probably will), only the President's pen stands between the bill and its enactment into law. Will the President sign or veto it?

The present administration's stand on federal aid to education has vacillated. In its early years it adhered to the principle that schools are a state and local responsibility. After the 1954 elections the President relented sufficiently to send a message to the Hill on February 8, 1955 that recommended federal credit assistance on school bonds and \$66.7 million a year in construction grants for three years. In 1956 and 1957 his attitude softened further and he upped the proposed annual grants to \$250 and \$325 million respectively, for five or four years. The bills were defeated in the House, both in 1956 and 1957. That seemed to set-

or more education for the dollars."

SCHOOL AID?

ROGER A. FREEMAN

tle the issue until Sputnik came along and caused Congress to pass the administration-sponsored National Defense Education Act of 1958 which provided aid for science and foreign language teaching, counseling, fellowships, etc.

Soon after, proposals for general federal aid to education were again gaining Congressional attention. In 1959 the President sanctioned a program (though he refused to send a message to Congress recommending it) that would pay half the debt service on school bonds in "needy" districts. He left no doubt that he would veto any bill providing aid for teachers' salaries and that he opposed outright grants for school purposes. Yet he permitted the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and its Office of Education to issue reports and statements which, if true, would prove that the administration program is inadequate. The advocates of "massive" federal aid, not surprisingly, built their case upon these reports which supplied them with all the ammunition they needed to attack the President's program and to substantiate their own case. The Chairman of the Republican National Committee, Senator Morton, had no sooner finished

presenting the administration's case in the Senate than he was faced with citations from statements by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Commissioner of Education. This inconsistency is one of the enigmas of the present administration which outsiders find hard to comprehend.

The case for federal school aid has changed very little since the 1870s and some of the Congressional speeches of 70 or 80 years ago could with a few adjustments have been given last month. Of course, the statistics have grown bigger: enrollment in the public schools has multiplied five times, school expenditure 250 times.

The case for massive federal aid is disarmingly simple: rapid enrollment increases are making heavier financial demands upon the schools than states and local communities can meet from their limited financial resources. Teach-

Mr. Freeman has been a member of the research staffs of both presidential commissions that have studied school finance within the past 20 years. He subsequently served on the White House staff and is now Vice President of The Institute for Social Science Research in Washington, D. C.

ers are badly underpaid and serious shortages of teachers and classrooms have developed all over the country. Federal support will cure all these ills.

Expanded enrollment

How well does this case stand up under close analysis? School enrollment has been growing at an unprecedented rate. Public school enrollment climbed 42 per cent in the past 20 years. That is a spectacular expansion. Set beside the 147 per cent increase in private elementary and secondary schools, however, it does not look quite as impressive. Somehow the private schools managed to expand two and one-half times within 20 years not only without federal aid but without any public funds whatsoever. But the significant fact is that in the 20 years when the number of children increased 42 per cent, the expenditure of the public schools jumped 567 per cent (this is *not* a typographical error, expenditures went from \$2.3 billion in 1940 to \$15.5 billion in 1960). Even with the dollar's value cut in half this would look to a lay observer to be a phenomenal increase which should have amply taken care of essential needs. We are told, however, that it has not, that the real breakthrough to a new and higher level of school support is yet to come.

Here lies a deep ideological chasm. On the one side are those who believe that America's educational problem can be expressed in numbers of teachers and classrooms and the size of the teachers' pay, that lack of adequate finances is solely responsible for whatever deficiencies exist in our schools and colleges, and that "there is nothing wrong with the schools that more money won't

cure." On the other side are those who blame the low status of American education and its product upon a lack of sense of purpose, a lowering of standards of teaching, of promotion, of graduation: these people hold that available human and physical resources are used inadequately and wastefully, and that what is needed above all is not so much more money but greater wisdom in spending it. The antithesis may be concisely expressed by the question whether the more urgent need is to get more dollars for education or more education for the dollars. To be sure, nobody questions that the schools will need additional billions in the years ahead. Some observers doubt, however, that any amount of money can improve the educational product without major changes in the schools' methods and practices.

School funds increased

By how much will school funds need to be increased in the 1960s? The heaviest enrollment increases are almost over. As the war and postwar babies are reaching school-leaving age, annual enrollment increases will shrink to less than half toward the end of the decade, from 1.2 million now to about 600,000 a year between 1965 and 1970. The number of children in the public schools will grow 20 per cent between 1960 and 1970 or, according to more expansive projections, 24 per cent. Yet the demand is being raised insistently that school outlays be at least doubled. An increase of 100 per cent in funds during a period of a 20-24 per cent enrollment rise is deemed necessary because vast shortages of classrooms and teachers are reported to exist which were created during the past 20 years

when the schools suffered from inadequate support.

The classroom shortage, which has been very much in the public eye for the past ten years, was placed at 132,400 in the fall of 1959 by the Office of Education. That looks very big and serious indeed, until we remember that the Commissioner of Education only five years earlier (in October 1954) testified before a Congressional committee to a deficiency of 370,000 classrooms which he expected to increase. Soon after, the Chairman of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee predicted that we would be 600,000 classrooms short by 1958. Contrary to these expert forecasts, shortages have been coming down ever since. Over the past five years, while enrollment climbed 20 per cent, the number of available classrooms grew 30 per cent. When the various state reports are analyzed more closely, they reveal such sharp discrepancies and inconsistencies that it becomes difficult to accept any of them at face value. But they are, at this time, the only available official information on the classroom situation.

Projected construction

Two years ago, in my book *School Needs in the Decade Ahead*,¹ I projected classroom needs to 1970, counting in the so-called backlog or current shortage, increasing enrollments, abandonments, etc. I arrived at an annual construction need of 60,000 classrooms for the succeeding twelve years (to 1970). Since new construction averaged close to 70,000 classrooms a year, the outlook did not seem overly dis-

turbing. But my projection was in some circles regarded as disturbing. However, in December 1959, the Chief of the Projection Section in the Office of Education, Louis Conger, presented a paper at the convention of the American Statistical Association in which he estimated the construction need in the ensuing ten years at an average of 61,000 classrooms yearly. For some reason, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare never got around to publishing Mr. Conger's paper nor referred to it in its subsequent statements or reports. The fact remains that the classroom construction rate has been running higher for over five years than the level at which it needs to be maintained during the next ten.

Difficulty in fund raising?

It has been asserted that many school districts all over the country have reached the limit of their bonding capacity and that, without adequate federal or state aid, cannot build the schools they need. When the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare—not on its own initiative—canvassed the chief state school officers in January 1960, it found that out of a total of 40,600 school districts in the country, only 237 (which needed 3,086 classrooms) reported to be borrowed-up.

Some of the low-income states may, at times, find it difficult to raise the required funds. Fortunately, almost all of the big enrollment increases are taking place in the wealthier states; low-income states are experiencing an out-migration and tend to lose population. Moreover, schools cost less in some areas than in others. The huge construction

¹ Institute for Social Science Research, Washington, D. C., 1958, \$5.

program of the Georgia State School Building Authority runs at \$500 per pupil, while public schools in northern states usually cost \$1,000 or more. New York City school projects cost from \$2,000 per pupil up and some exceed \$3,000. It is most enlightening to compare the cost of public and parochial schools in some of the larger cities. Public schools cost anywhere from 50 to 100 per cent more than parochial schools. The reason is usually obvious: space allowances have almost doubled in public schools over the past quarter century, from around 50 square feet per pupil to 100 or more. Parochial school children still get along on 50 square feet, as do the children in European and Soviet schools. No evidence has ever been shown that children learn more if their schools are more spacious. Spacious schools, of course, cost more money and the argument over the cost, or the difficulty of raising the higher amount, sometimes delay completion for years.

Teacher shortage dubious

The teacher shortage picture is even more confused than the classroom situation. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare reported on August 30, 1959 a shortage of 195,000 teachers; further, that the number of teachers in the schools would *decline* 32,700 between 1958-59 and 1959-60. But statistics in its magazine *School Life*, December, 1959, showed that there were 61,000 *more* teachers in the schools than there had been the year before. In its August report the department upped the shortage for 1958-59 *retroactively* from 132,000 to 182,000—that is, by 49,800—although simultaneous statistics revealed that there had

been 65,900 more qualified teachers in the schools than the department had estimated one year before.

In the case of the classroom shortage the department can at least plead that it is only compiling reports submitted by the state departments of education. But the states prepare no teacher shortage reports. The estimates are computed in the U. S. Office of Education and have for the past five years consistently understated the number of qualified teachers in the schools by 60,000 to 70,000—as the statistics released one year later regularly reveal. This is no error but outright and deliberate deception which has been sharply and repeatedly criticized but so far not corrected.

The fact is that between 1953 and 1959, when according to the Office of Education the teacher shortage grew from 72,000 to 195,000, the *certified* staff in the public schools increased 34 per cent, the number of children only 25 per cent. The number of children per teacher has been consistently reduced—from 36 around 1900 to 29 in 1930 and to 25 in 1959. Yet the teacher shortage is reported to be growing. Many educational researchers set out to prove that children learn more in small classes than in large. Dozens of such studies have been conducted but the evidence has been negative. If anything it seemed to point in the other direction (compare a series of six editorials on class size in the *Catholic School Journal*, 1959). It is well known that class sizes in parochial schools are usually far larger than in public schools.

The outlook for the teacher supply is highly assuring. The percentage of all college graduates who prepared for

teaching has risen from 21 per cent in 1948 to 32 per cent in 1959 and the number of college graduates is projected to double between 1958 and 1970. So, if the percentage of students choosing a teaching career is only maintained we shall double the supply of new teacher graduates. On the other hand, the annual pupil enrollment increase will shrink to half during the 1960s as I mentioned earlier. This means, then, that the demand to meet higher enrollments will be cut in half while the supply of new teachers will double.

Are teachers underpaid? Many undoubtedly are, as they must, under a system which pays by uniform schedules rather than by individual merit and performance. Particularly teachers with family obligations often have a difficult time making ends meet. However, only one teacher in ten is a man with a family and he usually takes a supplemental job when his 36-week school year ends. Something will have to be done about teachers' salaries but it may not be across the board raises for everybody. It may be a full work year (like everybody else), increased productivity, and pay according to professional principles rather than union scale.

On the whole, teachers have done better than others. Over the past 30 years their average salary has gone up 103 per cent, the earnings of all employed persons only 83 per cent (in constant dollars). Since 1950 teachers' salaries have advanced 40 per cent (in constant dollars). How much should they go up in the 1960s? Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Fleming proposed at the dedication of the new NEA building in Washington early in 1959 that teachers' salaries be dou-

bled within ten years. A short time later, at the librarians' convention, he suggested that librarians' salaries be doubled. It seems fortunate that Mr. Flemming was not invited to address the steelworkers or we would never have gotten the steel strike settled.

Rising salaries

States and communities have been raising teachers' salaries right along and, to all appearances, will continue to do so. Between 1952-53 and 1959-60 the percentage of teachers earning less than \$3,500 a year dropped from 62 to 13 per cent; those making more than \$4,500 jumped from 13 to 57 per cent. Not many other occupational groups could schedule their annual convention in Hawaii (as the NEA Department of Classroom Teachers did in 1960), and expect their members to afford to attend.² Probably few family heads will. But they number only one teacher out of ten.

By and large, it seems that the way to attract a higher caliber of candidates to the teaching profession—and, in fact, the answer to most school problems—is not just do more of what we have been doing but to seek better ways of doing it.

The historical record of public school support in the United States is truly outstanding. Since the end of the war, public school expenditures have risen from 1.6 per cent of the national income in 1945-46 to 2.7 per cent in 1949-50 and to 3.8 per cent in 1959-60. A comparison of the material investment—equipment, spaciousness of

² It is hard to conceive of a national society of college teachers staging their annual meeting in Hawaii. They certainly could not afford it.

buildings, recreational facilities, class size, teacher salary, etc.—with European or Soviet schools, or with American private schools, shows our public schools to be far ahead. This, unfortunately, cannot be said of the level of learning. In terms of acquired skills and knowledge, students of European and Soviet schools are reported to be two or more years ahead.

In any case, it is clear that the cost of the public schools is going up and that additional billions will be needed to support them. How shall they be raised? The principle of subsidiarity suggests that the preferred solution be sought at the lowest level of government that is capable of performing the task. The claim that the residents of New York, California, Illinois, or Connecticut cannot afford to pay for the education of their children and need outside aid is silly on its face. A better case can conceivably be made for assistance to some of the low-income states. But even here, shrinking income differentials, relatively stable population size, and lower costs weaken the case. Experience has shown time and again that Congress will not touch an aid bill that benefits only a few states. This is a case of bringing home the bacon; charity begins at home. In fact, the sentiment has tended away even from equalizing bills (allocating relatively more to low-income states) and toward the flat grant principle embodied in the Murray-Metcalf Bill. It is today plainly unrealistic and naive to suggest federal aid to low-income states only. They don't have the votes—and, if they did, they'd vote it down. Federal school aid will be enacted for all states or for none.

The Murray-Metcalf Bill would have

authorized grants to all states rising from \$25 to \$100 per child within four years. The Monroney amendment to the McNamara Bill (S. 8), which was approved by the Senate, allows each state \$20 per year for every child of school age (5 to 17 years). All children residing in a state will count but federal funds will be divided among *public* schools only. In other words, public schools will receive *relatively* more where a larger percentage of the children attends private schools.

Avoids fateful issue

The bill is very cleverly drafted. Its authors tried to avoid the argument over aid for auxiliary services to private schools that sealed the fate of the 1948 and 1949 bills. They provided that federal funds be available not for general school purposes but only for teachers salaries and school construction. Church-connected schools are ineligible for both under the Supreme Court decisions in the *Everson* and *McCormack* cases.

The Morse amendment would have permitted \$75 million annually in loans to private nonprofit schools at 2¾ per cent interest. It should come as no particular surprise that it was voted down.³ Its passage would, in the view of some of the advocates of federal aid, have defeated one of the bill's major pur-

³ Nine Senators voted for the Morse amendment who later voted against passage of the bill without it (8 Republicans, 1 Democrat [Lausche]). Twenty-three Senators voted against the Morse amendment who later voted for the passage of the bill without it (19 Democrats, 4 Republicans [Case S. D., Cooper, Javits, Mundt]). Senator Kennedy was absent, but registered his vote against the Morse amendment and for the passage of the bill. The House Education and Labor Committee, on February 25, 1960, voted 18-6 for a construction bill and against benefits to private schools.

poses. The sharp expansion of the private schools—at a far more rapid rate than public schools—has caused anxiety among some of the public school administrators who fear continuance of the trend. They know that private schools have long waiting lists and that their enrollment would jump several additional millions if they had the money to build facilities and hire teachers.

During the 1958 Senate hearings the executive secretaries of the Council of Chief State School Officers and of the National School Boards Association objected vigorously to benefits to private schools in the Defense Education Act. The latter volunteered his belief that the educational benefits in the G.I. bill violated the principle of separation of church and state and that if similar tuition grants were made available to the parents of school children, usable at schools of their choice, "the public schools of the nation would be doomed."



Those who view the apparent preference of a growing number of parents for private schools not as a challenge to the public schools but as a menace will rather forego federal aid than acquiesce in a provision that would even in the smallest way benefit private schools. The NEA could have had a school aid bill in 1948 if it had been willing to concede one or two per cent of the amount to private schools for auxiliary services. But, as one of the

leaders in that fight told me years later: "On this point we cannot and we shall not compromise." Father Neil McCluskey, S.J., commented in his excellent *Catholic Viewpoint on Education*:

An even larger group of Americans bases its opposition on the fear that whatever favors the growth of private education serves to weaken public education—that any government step facilitating the expansion of parochial schools redounds to the harm of public schools.⁴

Private schools disadvantaged

To reverse the 20-year enrollment trend to private schools and to direct it again toward the public schools is one of the major impelling forces in the organized drive for federal aid. Federal support of the public schools could make private schools less able to compete in terms of teachers' salaries and school facilities, and might gradually tip the scales against them. Those who favored a sharing of the federal funds (for auxiliary services) by private schools, joining with the opponents to all federal aid, succeeded in 1948 and 1949 in blocking bills that restricted benefits exclusively to public schools. It is doubtful whether they could do so today. It is obvious that those who want private schools to participate lack the votes to pass their type of bill. Nor are they likely to get the votes—at least for a long, long time.

The immediate financial impact of the bill now under consideration in the House would be slight. It would raise federal funds from \$2 to \$3 billion in three years during which the public schools will spend at least \$50 billion. But the long range effects would be significant. If public school expenditures

⁴ Hanover House, New York, 1959, p. 175.

are to be boosted by \$15 billion over the next ten years, and if states and communities cannot do this under their own power, then federal aid amounting to \$300 or \$500 million, or even \$1 billion a year is no answer. It would take *at least* \$5 billion a year, as the original Murray-Metcalf provided, to make an impact. To assure early consideration of an increase in the amount, the Monroney amendment cut the Senate bill's authorization to two years.

Appropriations = influence

Federal appropriations of \$5 billion a year or more, of course, would lead to growing federal influence upon the schools, as James Bryant Conant has pointed out in his recent book, *The Child, the Parent and the State*. The real significance, however, goes beyond the old question of federal control. Federal funds would vest unprecedented powers in state departments of education and school administrators in general. All of the school aid bills place the distribution of federal funds among school districts in the hands of chief state school officers, whether through the drafting of "state plans" or otherwise. Those officials would no longer be dependent upon the legislature for the parceling out of aid to the local schools. Nor would local school administrators remain as dependent upon their boards and communities for the approval of funds.

The crux

Here is the real crux of the fight over federal aid. Lay control of the schools is exercised largely through the power over the purse, through the ap-

proval or denial of the funds demanded by the administrators. To the extent to which centrally-raised funds are supplied, lay influence wanes. Public dissatisfaction with the schools and their product has multiplied in recent years. In the rising wave of unhappiness over the appalling lack of skills and knowledge displayed by the schools' graduates, administrators at times find it difficult to get their tax and bond proposals adopted. They are afraid that ever-growing tax bills will cause parents to take a more critical look at the efficiency in the use of manpower and facilities, at curriculum, educational standards, and grade promotion practices. Federal aid offers a way out. It would tend, for better or worse, to shift the control of the schools from lay communities to the professional administrators at local, state, and federal levels.



The American public has been subjected to exaggerations and distortions for so long that, in the absence of any organized effort to correct the picture, it has come to believe the mythology of federal aid. The vast propaganda effort that has gone into this campaign

over many years is now paying off. The road toward sharply increased school support is not being presented as offering the alternative routes of higher-state-local taxes or higher federal taxes. Rather, it is being represented as a choice between higher state-local taxes and federal aid. Federal money is viewed as coming for free from the inexhaustible federal treasury. Why should local citizens vote for a local bond issue or tax rate when they may soon be able to get the new school (or teachers' salary hike) for 50 cents or less on the dollar? Many ask: If school costs are to double, as we are told they must, why should *we* pay for them? Let Uncle Sam do it, then it won't cost *us* so much.

Viewing it realistically, the chances of passing a school aid bill in the 86th

Congress are better than even. It almost always pays to vote for all appropriations and against all taxes (unless they are levied upon a vote-weak minority) especially during an election year. The Powell amendment (which would prevent federal funds from going to segregated schools) may be less effective in blocking passage in a year in which members of Congress have a chance to demonstrate their conviction against racial discrimination by voting for a strong civil rights bill.

Nobody can foretell at this time what the President will do. If the bill is scaled down and divested of some of its most objectionable features, he might well yield to the pressures upon him and sign. If he vetoes the bill, who will repeat the feat in 1961?

A CATHOLIC PARENT SPEAKS UP

FRANCIS J. BROWN

The Honorable Lee Metcalf, M.C.
House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

In re: MURRAY-METCALF and McNAMARA-HART EDUCATION BILLS
Dear Sir:

A few weeks ago I received under your frank a copy of an extension of your remarks in the House on September 14, 1959 relative to the need for school facilities. I assume that the sending of this document constitutes a bid for my support of your co-sponsored Murray-Metcalf bill, which proposes to make federal grants for con-

struction and salaries to public schools based, with some weighting, on the number of children of ages 5-17.

As an educator I appreciate our educational needs, but I am opposed to the discriminatory aspects of both your bill and that of Senator McNamara, which provides for federal funds for construction of public school facilities.

As the father of five children in a family that prefers private education, I am opposed to the failure of both bills to make any provision for my children. Congressman, there is nothing in the

Constitution or in any decision of the Supreme Court that would prohibit Congress from giving an educational grant to my children on equal terms with other young American citizens.

But even though the Constitution guarantees all children equal protection of the law, both your bill and that of Senator McNamara discriminate against those who prefer private education, you set up a religious test as a condition of receiving federal funds.

The fact that many in our society fail to see such tests in your legislation does not render them any the less odious to those of us who must bear them. I believe that the First Amendment was intended to be a guardian of our religious rights, not a weapon for their destruction. I believe that Congress, in exercising its duty not to establish a church, must be equally alert to see that all citizens have access to general federal benefits without regard to religious beliefs.

Both bills seek constitutional justification in a national interest in public schools. Can you explain to me why in this matter the Congress has a national interest in those children who attend public schools and none in mine?

In this last respect I notice that my children are counted in the determination of state quotas. I submit that it is bad enough to count them out of their share, but to count them in for one that is then assigned to other children is doubly discriminatory.

Congressman Metcalf, you must realize that many citizens who prefer private education resent deeply the present system of double taxation on the state and local level, under which the benefits derived from the education taxes of all individuals and corporations

are assigned solely to one group of citizens.

Do you now expect these people wholeheartedly to support programs that incorporate into federal law the discriminations, religious tests, and second-class citizenship under which they presently labor on the state level?

As for practical proposals in matters of this sort, I would suggest something similar to the G.I. Bill or some type of allotment system to be worked out with parents' or citizens' groups. As one who freely chose a private school under the G.I. Bill, I believe that Congress can in this important area devise an equally effective method to promote the national interest.

It is urged that the need for educational facilities spur Congress on to some action on education bills this session, but I trust that our lawmakers will bear in mind that our courts take a dim view of the opinion that eagerness to do good in some is an excuse for glossing over the rights of others.

As a parent whose rights to control the education of his children have been vindicated by the highest court of our land, I respectfully urge you and shall also urge these other gentlemen to consider my rights in this matter as well as those of my children. My wife and I would like our Margaret, Frankie, Tommy, Annie, and Charlie to grow up as first-class citizens in a democracy that really respects all their rights, including that most important one of free choice of education without penalty.

Sincerely,

Francis J. Brown, Ph.D.

Professor of Economics
De Paul University
Chicago, Ill.

THE MARK OF KEYNES

Raymond F. X. Cahill, S.J. •

Father Cahill teaches Economics at the College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, Mass.

When the question is asked, "What do you think of Keynes?", one should feel free to pause for a long breath before beginning to answer. Recently, *The Means to Prosperity: Keynesian Economics Pro and Con*¹ landed on my desk and my comment was invited. Allow me to draw the long breath.

The neophyte in economic science might well be directed to Dudley Dillard, who in his book *The Economics of John Maynard Keynes*,² presents an excellent summary and explanation of Keynes' teachings. One is tempted to use the word, "translation." Robert Heilbroner in *The Worldly Philosophers*³ has a chapter on Keynes which is jaunty and debonair as well as informative.

Dillard and Heilbroner present our man as one of the most important writers of our times (if not the most important) in the field of economics. They show how his ideas have exerted influence on the thought of practically all economists and on governmental policies throughout the world.

Heilbroner, for example, pictures Karl Marx as the economist of Capitalism Doomed and Keynes as the Economist of Capitalism Viable. If one were to throw a series of adjectives at

Marx, it might be to the point to note that he was atheistic, anti-religious, materialistic, deterministic, revolutionary, evolutionary, anti-social, physically unwell, impractical, industrious and ponderously and powerfully intellectual. Following the same strategem with regard to Keynes, one would say that he was English, aristocratic, intuitional, widely interested, highly expertised in practical business matters, impatient with mediocrity and stupidity in high places, confidently courageous, highly explosive and facilely intellectual.

Having directed the neophytes to their reading and the thinkers to pounding on these adjectives, let us try to follow a more prosaic mode of closing in on our prey. He was born in 1883 (the year in which Marx died), the son of John Neville Keynes. A brilliant youth, he was educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge. Thereupon he entered civil service, accepting a post in the India Office. *Indian Currency and Finance* resulted from this experience. During World War I he served with the Treasury and journeyed to Paris to work with the Supreme Economic Council at the Versailles Treaty Conference.

To Keynes, the Versailles Treaty was the hallmark of ignorant and revengeful economic stupidity. He resigned his post and wrote a scathing denunciation

¹ By J. M. Keynes, Sumner H. Slichter, John H. Williams, Henry C. Wallich. Economics Books, Buffalo, 1959. \$1.45.

² Prentice Hall, New York, 1948.

³ Simon & Schuster, New York, 1953.

of the work of Versailles. He called his book *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*.⁴ The intuitional and analytical insights contained in this work marked Keynes as a prophet during the 1920s and 1930s.

In 1925 he entered the lists again with *The Economic Consequences of Sterling Parity*.⁵ (The English edition is entitled *The Economic Consequences of Mr. Churchill*.) Here he faulted Britain for overvaluing the pound in terms of the currencies of other countries. Subsequent events again seemed to prove him a prophet.

Setting his sights on the heights, he worked away at *A Treatise on Money*.⁶ Of this work he was later to say that it was his way of learning the role of money in our uneven economy. In it he noted the see-saw effect of the interaction of savings and investments. It hit the stalls in 1930 in the midst of the depression yet failed to account for the idle men, idle money and unsated wants of that dread period in our history.

The restless mind of Keynes turned to grapple with the problem of the prolonged depression. In 1933 he wrote *The Means of Prosperity*. In this probing work he advocated a policy of increased loan-expenditure plus an increased foreign balance as a means of raising employment and prices. He called for a World Economic Conference to insure the adoption of similar policies by other countries. He concluded:

For we have reached a critical point. In a sense it is true that the mists are lifting. We can, at least, see clearly the gulf to which our present path is leading.

⁴ Harcourt, Brace and Howe, New York, 1920.

⁵ Harcourt, Brace, New York, 1925.

⁶ Macmillan, London, 1932.

Few of us doubt that we must, without much more delay, find an effective means to raise world prices; or we must expect the progressive breakdown of the existing structure of contract and instruments of indebtedness, accompanied by the utter discredit of orthodox leadership in finance and government, with what ultimate outcome we cannot predict. (p. 41)

Actually the fuller rationalization of these suggestions was to come later in his *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* published in 1936.⁷ Here, addressing himself to the central problem of unemployment, Keynes seeks to line up all the variables in the working of the economy and to center attention on the recalcitrant factors and thus to localize, as it were, the crucial point. He takes as his starting point the idea that there is no automatic safety mechanism which will elevate the economy from a prolonged depression. Next, he is interested in the determinants of the national income and employment.

Thus we can sometimes regard our ultimate independent variables as consisting of (1) the three fundamental psychological factors, namely, the psychological propensity to consume, the psychological attitude to liquidity and the psychological expectation of future yield from capital assets, (2) the wage-unit as determined by the bargains reached between employers and employed, and (3) the quantity of money as determined by the action of the central bank; so that, if we take as given the factors above, these variables determine the national income (or dividend) and the quantity of employment. (pp. 246-247)

Most of these independent variables can be made to behave under the assuming mind of Keynes, save the propensity to invest. Thus, the quantity of money may be taken as a constant in a given period as a result of administrative de-

⁷ Harcourt, Brace, New York.

cision. The wage rate is the result of a bargain and, for the moment, may be assumed to be a constant. (A gap exists concerning the increasing productivity of labor.) He assumes that the propensity to consume will be relatively constant in a short period of time. Thus the focus narrows and settles on the one determinant which is errant, i.e., investment. There exists a terrible penchant to misjudge the marginal efficiency of capital. This error points the economy toward contraction or expansion. In a state of prolonged depression, the economy has been directed toward a progressively worsening state and strong counter measures are needed to counteract this tendency. A proper long range solution would include a Public Board of Investment to balance the work of private investment (at least) so that the devastating effects of misjudgment of the marginal efficiency of capital by private investors might be controlled. For the short range, added investment must be made by public authority in order to produce greater national income and thus greater employment. In other words, in a depression situation, with a relationship between savings and investment producing a national income too small for full employment, added investment is required to add to national income and thus to foster more employment.

The multiplier

The amount of new investment needed to produce the added amount of national income necessary to increase employment up to the satisfactory level was a refinement on the main idea. The ratio between the net new investment and the net new national income was called the multiplier. Its size in a given

set of circumstances was to be derived from the propensity to consume. Later Keynesians, translating the foregoing onto charts, would use precise figures to show how much new investment would add how much to national income (and presumably, therefore, how much added employment there would be). However, important as such niceties may be in the practical sphere of the work-a-day world, they must not distract us from the main point that Keynes highlighted important variables in the economy and made the investment function the scapegoat.

This, you might say, was his contribution. It rocked the orthodox economists, particularly since Keynes had been so high a star in the academic sky. He had accepted the notion that a depression might not contain within itself the seeds of its own decay, that there might not be automatic factors seeking to restore an equilibrium at full employment that depression might be a permanent condition, unless we took steps. Needed was added investment to produce the added national income necessary for added employment. Thus and only thus can we rescue capitalism.

Having thus exposed the core of the Keynesian teaching, we now turn to the little book on the desk. Keynes' essay, "The Means to Prosperity" may be taken as a collector's piece, particularly in view of the fact that three years later he was to make his fuller rationalization along these lines. This essay represents a point in the development of his line of reasoning and is not of any great importance in itself.

J. H. Williams, in the second essay, "Deficit Spending," written in 1941, expresses his worries over the implications of continued deficit spending, es-

pecially as regards its theoretical foundations. Worries like this were common at the time. This was before we entered the "economy of affluence." To many it looked as though Keynes had made Marx unnecessary. Keynes, they held, provided the roundabout way to Statism. Later writers, like Smithies,⁸ would cope with this objection by hinting that the way of the prolonged depression was the shorter route to Statism and more sure. Williams comes back to the older suggestions—more employment offices and the like as the way to cope with unemployment. Again, we are inclined to dismiss the offering as a museum piece. It is good as a record of what a leading economist of the period thought of Keynes in 1941.

Slichter's essay, "The Passing of the Keynesian Economics," is something else again. It was written in 1957. Thus, it comes in a distinctly different set of circumstances than the work of Keynes or Williams. It casts Keynes into the role of being exclusively a depression economist. True, he wrote in the depression. True, he addressed himself to the task of moving the economy from the blight of a prolonged depression. His thinking was inevitably tinged with the deep black of the depression years. However, his variables can be considered in a different light. Slichter faults Keynes for his limited view of the consumer's role in the economy, boasts of the now present great demands for new capital and emphasizes the impact of research in modern industry. Slichter enlarges on the affluent society as being quite different from the economy which was the subject of the *General Theory*. Page

by page he dilates on the superiority of the real world over the world of Keynesian theory and he, too, feels that "widespread and continued acceptance of Keynes' theory of demand would have been disastrous for capitalistic institutions." To settle this difference between Slichter and Keynes, we have only to discount the effect of the war and of defense spending on demand. Slichter doesn't seem to regard the increase in demand as the result of added investment, induced by war and defense spending. Were he to grant this point to Keynes and start his analysis from there, it would be interesting to see how far apart the two are.

"Keynes, Re-examined: The Man, The Theory" by Henry C. Wallich is the other essay included in this little study. Published first in the *New York Times Magazine* of April 20, 1958, it is a favorable presentation of the biographical details and the outline of his contribution as contained in the *General Theory*. Wallich gives great credit to Keynes for changing the course of economic thinking and shows how his analysis can be put into reverse and used to fight inflationary circumstances. Brief and to the point, Wallich sets Keynes off with good perspective and, it seems to me, shows proper appreciation of his contribution to economic thought and to his stature amongst his fellow economists.

The new take-off point

Coming now to a concluding note, what are we to think of Keynes?

Keynes' work includes some faulty assumptions. Any chart or mathematical calculation seeking to apply the Keynesian formulas and statistics to the real world carries with it no guarantee

⁸ *A Survey of Contemporary Economics*, Blakiston, Philadelphia, 1948, p. 178.

of correctness. Questions in abundance arise from his work and go begging for proper answers. Thus, is the propensity to consume relatively stable? Is the supply function properly taken for granted? How do we determine the size of the multiplier? How do we measure leakage? How do we know how much an increase in national income will increase employment?

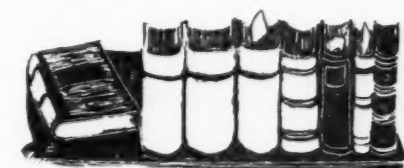
These and other unanswered questions make the Keynesian tools of analysis a bit misty, to say the least. They aim at relating important variables in a particular period. Any pretense to accuracy is based on assumptions, which cannot be taken for granted as characteristic of the moving, changing world. And yet, when all is said and done, Keynes did provide the new take-off point. He centered attention on aggregates. He set in motion researchers delving into the propensity to con-

sume, the amount of new investment, the effect of added investment, the effect of tax increases, the effect of tax decreases. His efforts spawned the Beveridge Report, the Full Employment Act of 1946 and many other acts of governments throughout the world. The mark of Keynes is found in almost every elementary textbook, inasmuch as they probe the Keynesian technique in studying income and employment, savings and investment. The mark of Keynes is found in every business magazine as they publish their estimates on investment, savings and consumption for the period ahead. Others to the contrary notwithstanding, as Keynes promised G. B. Shaw in 1935: "I believe myself to be writing a book on economic theory which will largely revolutionize . . . the way the world thinks about economic problems." Keynes did. He made his mark.

Books

1859 IN REVIEW: *A Single Year's Effect on the Modern World.* By Thomas P. Neill. Newman Press, Westminster, Md., xxx, 204 pp. \$2.75

Every year is eventful but some are notably more pregnant with change than others. In the present very readable book Professor Neill has gathered abundant evidence that the year 1859 was a watershed marking off our present age from those which went before. For the most part he makes his point concerning the importance of 1859 not by marshalling a set of individual birthdays falling within this year—which of themselves would hardly be decisive in 1859—but rather by discussing developments, largely social in bearing,



which came to a head in some public fashion within this year.

The 1859 phenomena which Professor Neill selects as cardinal turn out to be chiefly books or essays. Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* marks the effective launching of the concept of evolution, Karl Marx's *Critique of Political Economy* the beginnings of Communism, and John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* the modern crusade for personal freedoms. Samuel Smiles' *Self-Help: With Illustrations of Character, Conduct, and Perseverance* both registers and intensifies the drift toward Classical Liberalism in the West, while Herbert Spencer's article "What Knowledge Is of Most Worth?" and John Henry Newman's

The Idea of a University announce, in two quite different voices, our modern concern with education. Two other developments Professor Neill discusses by focusing them around 1859 political occurrences: modern nationalism around Cavour's provocation of the ultimatum from Austria which began the War of Italian Liberation, and imperialism around the expansionist movements, less clearly dated but related to this nationalism.

In focusing somewhat on these half-dozen publications and two political occurrences, Professor Neill does not make them bear more than they are in fact able to bear. In each case he elaborates on a great many other events related to these 1859 focal points; he makes clear, too, that the 1859 phenomena are cardinal developments rather than clean breaks with the past. In the last chapter he reflects that his book necessarily leaves out of consideration many important developments which have helped form our contemporary society. He cites the development of the precision machinery necessary for the interchangeable parts which made modern industrialization possible and raises the question as to whether such a physical equipment might not be as important as the ideas of Darwin in shaping our present world.

These reflections are intriguing because they suggest further reflections about our present understanding of aspects of our own culture as represented in Professor Neill's work here. In his contrast between industrial developments and Darwin's work, "ideas" are associated chiefly with what is circulated through the printed word. This association is of course an established one and has an assignable validity. But is something changing here, too, in our present world? Will it be possible a hundred years from now to discuss what will then be recent history with this effective a concentration on written works, even this honest and diffident concentration? With our present understanding of the way in which even abstract insights are made possible or impossible because of social structures, and with the growing, and mysterious, influence of mass communications media—no longer concentrated in the printed word—upon our think-

ing and decisions and upon the very "shape" of our ideas, can the printed work ever again be considered this paramount? Is there some sense in which precision machinery involves "ideas" as much as Darwin's concept of natural selection or Newman's idea of a university do, despite the fact that these latter items belong more evidently to the world of books? These are questions about which Professor Neill might wish to write another interesting volume—or, to save the questions and his reflections from relative oblivion, perhaps to discuss on magnetic tape.

WALTER J. ONG, S.J.
Saint Louis University.

AMERICAN TRADE UNION DEMOCRACY. By William H. Leiserson. Columbia University Press, New York. xvii, 354 pp. \$7.50

UNIONS AND UNION LEADERSHIP. By Jack Barbash. Harper, New York. xxii, 348 pp. \$4.50

Leiserson's book is a posthumous work. The last chapter was composed about April, 1956. The manuscript was prepared by the author's two professor sons—Avery at Vanderbilt and Mark at Yale—assisted by Frank Kleiler, Executive Secretary of the National Labor Relations Board. A nine-page foreword by Sumner Slichter is a thoughtful complementary essay, especially welcome because illness and death took Leiserson before he could write his concluding and appraising chapter.

Part One contains four chapters on the development of trade unions. These are understanding and reflective observations on the historical rise of unions as governments, their social, economic, psychological and political roots, their evolution into a structured "labor movement," their meaning for industrial and union democracy.

Part Two is made up of ten chapters on the national union as the basic governmental unit, the union constitution, conventions, the union executive, judicial processes, local, district and regional union governments, the federated government of the AFL-CIO.

The special virtue of this work is the informed interpretation of the written documents and the formal provisions of union administration in the light of the author's long and intimate acquaintance with hundreds of key labor union officials who actually administered American national unions. Leiserson was one of the earliest arbitrators; he was for four years a member of the National Labor Relations Board; he served as the first chairman of the National Mediation Board. He writes of labor union governments with sympathy and sophistication but with a steady and critical eye.

This reviewer would sound a word of caution, however. The materials of this study and the research on which it is based pertain largely to union constitutions and conventions of the 1940s. Some changes have occurred to modify the picture. Several large international unions have held conventions in the last few years at which the whole set of codes of ethical practices of the new AFL-CIO have been incorporated into the international union constitutions. In addition, some unions, like the United Papermakers and Paperworkers and the International Woodworkers, have adopted completely new constitutions in the last few years. Further, the United Auto Workers and the Upholsterers have recently established their respective public review boards.

Barbash adds a subtitle to his book: *Unions and Union Leadership—Their Human Meaning*. This latter is the keynote for the 43 essays he has selected to show the vital and dynamic element in the American labor movement made up of more than 17 million live people—idealists and schemers, intellectuals and plodders, the pure and corrupt, crusaders and opportunists, blue collars, white collars, factory and service workers, sugar-cane field hands and aeronautical engineers, all manner of men.

Most of the essays are less than five years old, culled from the journals of the sociologists, economists, psychologists; business magazines like the *Harvard Business Review*, *Fortune*, *The Monthly Labor Review*; books on labor and business. Distributed into five blocks of chapters, they present a broad view of the labor movement in the United States; union leaders and

their functions; union styles or patterns in various industries and worker categories; conflict situations involving struggles for recognition, strikes, boycotts, arbitration, government red-tape and frustrations; some special problems of politics, automation, racketeering, Negroes and discrimination. An introductory chapter by the editor sets the framework and perspective for understanding more clearly the relationship of the succeeding chapters. A good book.

MORTIMER H. GAVIN, S.J.

THE AMERICAN FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. By Max Beloff. Oxford, New York. vii, 213 pp. \$4.50

This book has a dual interest for the American reader. Not only can he see his government as a non-American sees it, but he can learn much from it—unless he is very familiar with his government. The author is Gladstone Professor of Government and Public Administration at Oxford University. He has also traveled in America under a Rockefeller Foundation grant and was a member of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton.

Professor Beloff has done a good job of presenting the story of American government primarily for a foreign audience. He reveals a broad knowledge of our institutions and practices. He begins with a survey of the American political scene, then proceeds through successive chapters on the Constitution, the President, the Administration, the Congress, Parties, and concludes with a chapter on the government and the citizen.

The author has included adequate historical background, and his examples, as might be expected, are frequently taken from the area of comparative government. He is critical of our government as too conservative and of the Constitution as too rigid. Beloff feels that both the United States and the Western Alliance would be better off if our system were more flexible in its operation. He notes regretfully (and accurately) that we have no tradition of prestige for government service. For this

and for other reasons, the best qualified men do not go into public service. As a result, he feels that many men in government are not adequate for the tasks they are called upon to perform.

This book is one that the beginner in the field of American government will welcome and enjoy. The author assumes that his readers know little about United States government; the treatment, however, is not so elementary as to be uninteresting, even to a person with considerable background in the subject.

PAUL C. BARTHOLOMEW
University of Notre Dame

THE HIGH TOWER OF REFUGE. By Dr. E. H. Chandler. Praeger, New York. 264 pp. \$6.75

Church World Service, world-wide relief arm of the combined churches of the Protestant faith, like the Catholic and Jewish agencies and so many other non-sectarian groups, plunged into meeting the welfare needs of the victims of the Second World War. Not the least but certainly the most tragic victims were the millions of refugees who sought shelter along the highways of and in the hovels of a postwar Europe. Appearing as it does during this World Refugee Year, Dr. Chandler's *High Tower of Refuge* is a timely and interesting report on his church's contribution to the refugee problem. Perhaps the outstanding merit of this work is its careful reference to the less known problem of the refugees of Samar in the Philippines and certain other areas of the Far East.

A previous report of the Church World Service efforts for refugees appeared in another form. It was entitled *Immigration Programs and Policies of Churches of the United States*; it was edited by Benson Y. Landis and Constant H. Jacquet, Jr., and was published by the Bureau of Research and Survey, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., New York City. *The High Tower of Refuge* is a world view, more a personal odyssey of Dr. Chandler's experience in the refugee

field, with little or no reference to the immigration laws which bar a real solution to the refugee problem.

Dr. Chandler is careful not to make his work a cold, statistical report on his church's concern for the refugees. He personalizes the early chapters of his book with reference, *via* the media of the case history, to the dramatic incidents which followed the Hungarian Revolution of October-November 1956. His text is interspersed with warm, moving accounts of the personal tragedies of the few in order to heighten interest in the many. From each "category" of refugees the uprooting and homelessness of some individual or group of individuals is used as an illustration.

Dr. Chandler's position with the World Council of Churches and the Standing Conference of Voluntary Agencies working for refugees leads him to make frequent reference to several United Nations Agencies concerned with the refugee problem. Effective as the work of these agencies was, much more credit is given these international bodies than the voluntary agency of his own church which supplied Dr. Chandler's international department in Geneva with the meat for his text. We would dispute the advertisement on the flap of the book which states that this is the "first complete account ever written of refugee relief throughout the world." Dr. Chandler would probably be the first to admit that there have been at least a dozen volumes more complete and more extensive than his own work. The *High Tower of Refuge*, is, however, a welcome addition to a long series of writings on refugee relief.

A. J. WYCISLO
Chicago, Ill.

LAST MAN IN: RACIAL ACCESS TO UNION POWER. By Scott Greer. The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill. 189 pp. \$4

This is a study of 21 local unions in the Los Angeles area. The locals were chosen because they represented apt subjects for the study of ethnic, *i.e.* Negro and Mexican participation in local unions. It is an interesting, though some-

what involved study. A great deal of space is devoted to the operation of local unions. Perhaps this was necessary for a proper background to the study of ethnic participation in the locals. However, one gets the impression he has heard all this before: attendance at meetings, cliques, cadres, power politics, international-dominated locals, plant-centered locals, hall-centered locals. The general impression is created that Negroes and Mexicans have a harder time of it than the others. In some types of locals they make out better than others. Clear-cut conclusions that would apply beyond the research area are hard to find. Professor Greer admits that the case study method leaves many questions unanswered. Employers' discriminatory hiring policies are said to be at the root of many job-placement problems experienced by minority groups. Others with experience in this field will say "Amen" to that. While unions are not free of fault in this matter of holding Negroes and other minority groups to low-rung jobs, employers, perhaps, have the greater sin. *Last Man In* is a commendable first step into a relatively unstudied field. Just what chance does the minority group member have of getting anywhere in American unions—either from the point of view of decent employment or a career in the union hierarchy? We can hope that some other research group will pick up the ball and carry it further.

STEPHEN F. LATCHFORD, S.J.
Institute of Industrial Relations
St. Joseph's College
Philadelphia, Pa.

POPULATION GROWTH AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN LOW-INCOME COUNTRIES, A Case Study of India's Prospects. By Ansley J. Coale and Edgar M. Hoover. Princeton University Press. xxi, 389 pp. \$8.50

Taking India as their primary example, the authors of this ambitious study set out to examine the relationship between several hypothetical rates of population growth and general economic development in low-income countries during the next 30 years.

They reach the conclusion that national income would increase most rapidly under conditions of reduced fertility, since this would enable low-income countries to divert a higher percentage of national income to productive investment rather than "non-productive consumption." Although this conclusion has been a commonplace assumption in many circles, this is the first attempt to ground it on a rather elaborate statistical basis.

Unfortunately, the projection of fertility and above all of economic development trends for India was based on data subject to such wide margins of error that one may seriously question how useful it was to make them at all. On the other hand, although this work has little predictive value concerning India's future, it does offer an excellent model for studying the relationship between demographic trends and economic development in low-income countries, once fairly reliable data become available. Considered from this viewpoint, it represents a valuable and much needed contribution.

JOHN L. THOMAS, S.J.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND RELIGION. By Boleslaw Szczesniak. University of Notre Dame Press. xx, 289 pp. \$6.75

The author has assembled varied primary sources, covering the years 1917-1925, concerning religious suppression after the Russian revolution. Material has been gathered from rare Russian documents including laws and executive orders of the Bolshevik government and the All-Russian Communist Party, Russian newspapers, from diplomatic dispatches such as the files of the late Dr. Edmund Walsh, S.J., former Papal delegate to Russia.

Although the present collection necessarily emphasized the Russian Orthodox and the Roman Catholic churches, abundant material and bibliographical items relating to all persecuted religions are included.

The documents provide cogent sociological facts pertinent not only to the Russian environment but to any environment in which the communists employ their strategy of extinguishing religion.

LETTERS

The church and the suburbs

Victor Ferkiss does a provocative, mind-stretching analysis, in the February issue of *SOCIAL ORDER*, of Father Greeley's welcome work, *The Church and the Suburbs*. In general, I enjoy company with both writers in my own views and concerns. For instance, I think a good point is scored when attention is called to the relative Catholic tardiness in getting to an examination of suburban values anchored in religious and spiritual foundations. This Catholic resident of one Long Island suburban community is not alone, I am sure, in seeking to encourage much more of this kind of study; I would say particularly at the level of the parish. To note that I have not found this to be an enthusiastically received program diet for the average suburban Holy Name Society, and other like groups, is merely to invite a shrug.

Nor do I find it difficult to identify with the larger concerns which Mr. Ferkiss emphasizes, *viz.*, the wider application in our society of Father Greeley's rather well-defined "religious problem of suburbia." What I would add to considerations in this reference would be an extension of Mr. Ferkiss' footnoted mention of the rather pronounced tendency toward racial (as well as social class of course) homogeneity in "typical" — if there be such — suburbia. It is another dimension of this which disturbs me, having to do with interreligious relations. Professor Dan W. Dodson of New York University has made the point well, and I borrow from him.

In a paper he has prepared on the subject of "Religion in Suburbia," Dr. Dodson reveals many of the same concerns for organized religion to which Father Greeley has given more extensive attention. He says too that, today, what suburban institutions become tends to set a pattern for the remainder of society. Dodson raises, and briefly discusses, such tantalizers as these:

1. Does the phenomenal growth in church

membership (in suburbia especially) represent a quickening of spirituality, or a search for identification?

2. Can the suburban church escape the pressures toward conformity? (Here he touches on racial and social class homogeneity.)

3. Is there a trend toward a "secular religion" which by-passes our present religious pluralism?

I should like to focus, however, upon two related questions which Dodson raises, *i.e.*, can the churches escape blame for the fragmentation of community in suburbia? How can we keep our religious identifications from becoming banners under which we fight community issues? Obviously, discussion of questions of this nature, across religious groupings, is fraught with peril. Yet the need is thereby no less important.

Dodson suggests that in the early stages of suburban developments, from perhaps potato-field terrain, citizens are so busy getting schools and other communal services that they do not look to see who is Protestant, Catholic or Jew. But the sense of community deteriorates and one begins to hear of the Catholic vote or the Jewish interests. There emerges a problem of striking a balance between the common good and group autonomy. A tendency toward "retreat under sectarian umbrellas" is reflected in what are mainly political battles in such matters as public school bond referenda. Differences of faith tend to divide to a point where it becomes difficult to secure social action on issues which are important to all. A certain selective pattern of migration to suburbia, in the sense of religious group identification, contributes to making the particular religious group the banner under which people mobilize to fight secular issues. The political formlessness of suburbia is another factor which persuades churches and synagogues to become the foci of what is largely a power struggle. Religious leaders begin playing extraordinary political roles, etc.

The problems suggested by Dodson are manifestly unaffected by the "togetherness" approach. Suburbia has a good deal of the Brotherhood Council kind of activity, as Father Greeley and Mr. Ferkiss suggest. I do not mean to minimize the merits of this at all in suggesting that something to bite deeper into the fundamental issues is needed in suburbia. Genuine dialogue among religious leaders of various faiths is one step in what I would construe to be the proper direction, with all of the implications of spirit, of disposition, of rational discussion and of motivation for the common good that true dialogue involves.

LOUIS A. RADELET

Director, Commission on
Community Organizations
National Council of Christians and Jews
New York, N. Y.

The "changeable" natural law

I believe the editor's very fine editorial "The Changeable Natural Law" will offer an answer to Barth, Niebuhr *et al.*, but also to Catholics who have sown the ideas of fixity because they are much too fixed . . . nay, rigged.

BOB MASS

Cincinnati, Ohio

I have thoroughly enjoyed SOCIAL ORDER since I was first introduced to it by a friend several years ago.

The editorial on the "Changeable Natural Law" in the February issue occasioned this letter. Never have I seen such a complete and balanced exposé of "living Catholicism" in such a few pages. Reprints of the article should be provided to every nominal Catholic in the hope that they would finally realize that Catholicism is really more than a system, a ritual or a code. It will certainly help me personally provide many of my good (thinking) non-Catholic friends with a clearer picture of my religion.

SOCIAL ORDER's concern with agricultural and rural problems is also sincerely ap-

preciated as my work brings me in contact with these problems daily. Likewise, your items on population *vs.* food and society *vs.* people are invaluable aids in developing Christian opinions for discussions with colleagues (and these discussions are inevitable).

In closing, I wish you to know that my wife and I consider your magazine the most worthwhile of all the reading matter which enters our home. Be assured that we will support your "word of mouth" advertising campaign.

JOHN S. MURRAY

London, Ontario

Next... Let's Conquer Mental Illness!

Now that science has conquered the major illnesses of the past, and has all but defeated polio, it's time we turned our attention to the most widespread malady of all times — mental illness.

Your mental health association is supporting research to find the cures—and prevention of—mental illness.

Help research succeed.



Give at the
sign of the
Ringing Bell

. . . just a few things

(Continued from page 148)

tent) wins Mr. Herberg's ruthless castigation:

What is this but picturing God as a great cosmic public utility, and religion or church-going as a way of charging one's storage battery of faith for use in emergencies? It is hardly necessary to point out that this faith in faith, this religion of religion, is just as idolatrous as faith in a stock or stone or the religion of magical self-salvation.

There is another ambiguity in the adaptation of Catholicism to the American environment that might well be the subject of continuing self-scrutiny. As defined by Father Joseph H. Fichter, S.J., at the same Notre Dame symposium, it is

the area of broad social problems where the Church's teachings have not been spelled out in specific regulations of conduct, where Churchmen are themselves often at odds, and where the American people are disunited. Problems of urban redevelopment, slum clearance, law enforcement, race relations, political parties, management and workers, and similar problems, find the American society divided both in interpretation of values and in approaches to solutions.

The complaint is not that we have not elaborated a specifically Catholic party line on these admittedly complex questions but that we have failed to bring our general religious orientation to bear adequately in an analysis of these problems. Speaking as a sociologist, Father Fichter fears that "the factor of regionalism" has dominated Catholic thinking:

Catholics share in the anti-Semitism of the Northeast, in the isolationism of the Midwest, in the prejudices against Mexicans in the Southwest. Catholics acted like Californians when the Japanese-Americans were dispossessed and sent to relocation camps, like Texans when the off-shore oil disputes were discussed, and like Ciceronians when Negro families

moved into white neighborhoods in Illinois. On this level we are dealing with the moral and social problems on which the American people are confused, and on which Catholics demonstrate their achieved Americanization by sharing in the confusion.

Such are the targets of self-criticism that are . . . "just a few things" on the mind of the Editor whose ideas have been challenged by Father Campion's article. There is, it must be remembered, an essential tension to the Christian life with its challenge to help build the more humane Temporal City while being mindful that we have not here an abiding abode. It is a predicament that demands awareness, analysis and generosity. "Ultimately," says Father Rahner, "it all boils down to the fact that every individual Christian is responsible in his own day and way for the Church and the life of the Church." But "the life of the Church" is lived, in part, in this wounded world and in the lives of our fellow men. Hence, the stirring injunction of Cardinal Gracias of India:

To be a Catholic is to be concerned for the whole Church, for the whole world. We have to develop Catholic minds—not worldly minds with a few Catholic patches—and truly Catholic hearts. Any spirituality must be Catholic first of all; and so must any apostolate.

To be a Catholic is to accept the differences of others, and to understand them; this demands a great deal of humility and broadness of outlook.

To be a Catholic is to enrich oneself with the difference of others. Every man is our superior in some way, and it is up to us to discover this wealth and profit by it.

To be a Catholic, finally, is to be fully personal, is to develop our gifts of nature and grace, so as to love, serve and develop the Church's Catholicism.

Amen. These are the evident implications of the fact of the Mystical Body of Christ and of our membership in it.

Institute of Social Order
1908 Westminster Place
St. Louis 8, Missouri

September 11, 1959
414 Laurel Street
Manchester, N. H.

Dear Sir:

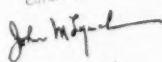
Enclosed is money-order for \$4. Please send to above address your magazine, Social Order, for one year.

Your magazine is recommended highly by Rev. John P. Cranin, S.S. in Social Principles And Economic Life, but he gives no address. I found

your address in a book on marriage, compiled or edited by Fr. Kelley and endorsed by Cardinal Spellman.

I read many Catholic periodicals but have never seen any ads about your magazine. Don't you ever advertise it or have I been oblivious of your ads?

Cordially,



John M. Lynch

P.S. George M. Cohan once had a play entitled "It Pays to Advertise."

SOCIAL ORDER

1908 WESTMINSTER PLACE ST. LOUIS 8, MO.

September 15, 1959

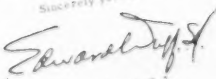
Dear Mr. Lynch:

There are several ways of answering your note of September 11th. I could claim that SOCIAL ORDER has a very restricted circulation, that we accept new subscribers only on nomination of friends and on payment through the Diners' club.

I could say that, confident that we have the better mousetrap, we are calmly waiting for the world to beat its way to our door. So sure are we of the uniqueness and value of our product that we consider advertising vulgar exhibitionism.

The flat fact of the matter, however, is that the editor is the solitary sandhog in this editorial tunnel and has small time to interest himself in promotion. SOCIAL ORDER is, therefore, dependent upon the word of mouth advertising it gets from devoted friends for its growth in circulation and influence. I hope you will be one of those friends.

Sincerely yours,



Edward Duff, S.J.

Institute of Catholic Social Action

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA, WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE 1960 SUMMER SESSION: JUNE 27-AUGUST 5

PROGRAM

S. 101. ETHICAL ASPECTS OF ECONOMICS

Father Gearty

9:10 a.m.

Historical precedents in Catholic social action, and social justice applied to the distribution of income, dealing especially with corporation profits, a living wage, and remedial measures such as family allowances, profit sharing, cooperatives, and credit unions.

S. 102. CURRENT ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

10:10 a.m.

Part I (June 27 - July 15)

Father Cronin

Selected social problems in the field of desegregation, present-day Communism and subversive activities, international cooperation, and foreign aid.

Part II (July 18 - Aug. 5)

Monsignor Higgins

Current trends and problems in the field of labor and industrial relations, dealing especially with migratory labor, cooperation with non-Catholic social action groups, and international labor affairs.

S. 103. PRINCIPLES AND TECHNIQUES OF CATHOLIC SOCIAL ACTION

11:10 a.m.

Part I (June 27 - July 15)

Monsignor Quinn

The nature and theological basis of the lay apostolate, the liturgy and social action, and Catholic movements among students, young adults, and married couples.

Part II (July 18 - Aug. 5)

Father O'Connell

The priest and the labor movement: the "priest-worker" movement, problems of labor reform, the "right-to-work" movement, labor schools, and public relations.

Supplements to course work: 1) Field trips to related federal offices and headquarters of national organizations. 2) Special lectures by experts in various fields.

THE FACULTY

Rev. John F. Cronin, S. S., Ph.D., Assistant Director, Social Action Department, NCWC; Rev. Patrick W. Gearty, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Economics, The Catholic University of America, Director of the Institute; Rt. Rev. Msgr. George G. Higgins, Ph.D., Director, Social Action Department, NCWC; Rev. Vincent O'Connell, S.M., M.A., S.T.L., Professor of Moral Theology, Marist College, Washington, D. C.; V. Rev. Msgr. William J. Quinn, Chaplain, Catholic Action Federations, Archdiocese of Chicago.

SOCIAL ORDER
3906 WESTMINSTER PLACE
ST. LOUIS 8, MO.

UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS
313 N FIRST ST
ANN ARBOR MICH
5823 000 00

